Access to Information Act

19(1) PERSONAL INFORMATION
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SATURDAY NIGHT May 1971

By Robin Wathevis

S PART OF HIS CHAPTER concluding the Literary History familiar generalizing statements of his which seem, for a moment, to clarify an obscurity in Canadian cultural life. But the statement, like many of Frye's, rather oversimplifies But the statement, like many of Frye's, rather oversimplifies a complexity than clarifies an obscurity. The oversimplication, dealing as it does with Canadian culture, is profoundly significant, intellectually, for our time. It is central to the present problem of the "takeover" of the Canadian university, and it is symbolic of a cultural cast of mind in Canada that "fuzzes" every time it faces squarely, or is asked to face, any one of the words "nationalism," "cosmopolitanism," "internationalism," and "freedom" in Canadian society. Canadian society.

Professor Frye writes:
"Because the United States is the most powerful centre of this civilization, we often say, when referring to its uniformity, that the world is becoming Americanized. But of course America itself is becoming Americanized in this sense, and the uniformity imposed on New Delhi and Singapore, or on Toronto and Vancouver, is no greater than that imposed on New Orleans or Baltimore. A nation so huge and productive, however, is deeply committed to this growing technological uniformity, even though many tendencies may pull in other directions."

pull in other directions."

Needless to say, there are differences in purpose, in class conflict, in cultural collision, in spiritual effect, even in mere "community efficiency" when the U.S.A. "Americanizes" itself, when India or Canada or Singapore "industrializes" itself, and when the U.S.A. "Americanizes" India, Canada and Singapore. Professor Frye chooses not to see those qualitative differences. The U.S.A., of course, has a right to "Americanize," to develop its technology in its own way. But it is not necessarily the case, as Professor Frye seems to assume, that the rest of the world, therefore, has an obligation to follow suit. Especially when his statement carries, as it does, an alarming assumption. He writes without any discrimination about technological advance—and the any discrimination about technological advance - and the confusion is a cultural characteristic among a certain group of Canadians. The Frye statement implies that technological advance means uniformity, and implies that cultural uniformity means U.S. culture. To develop technologically is to

become "American." That suggestion accepts tacitly, I believe, an inevitability of U.S. imperial power at all levels, homogenizing the world and erasing Canada.

The Frye reasoning makes a series of equations, historical and prophetic, that leave room for serious disagreement. Americanization becomes the same thing as development and the will to technological development. Technology is claimed, in neo-McLuhanish fashion, to have abolished space. In doing so it is a homogenizing force which (of necessity) abolishes countries. We live therefore, we must conclude, in a global village, homogenized.

disciplines. Indeed, the eminent Chicago/London School of Economics professor, Harry Johnson, for example, declares not only the inevitability of technological Americanization but also its desirability. Recently, he attacked Canadians on the content of the diminishing proportion of Canadians on the content of the diminishing proportion of Canadians on the content of the diminishing proportion of Canadians on the content of the diminishing proportion of Canadians on the content of the diminishing proportion of Canadians on the content of the concerned with the diminishing proportion of Canadians on university faculties and with the Americanization of Canadian culture and economy. He would not permit the Canadians concerned a reasonable measure of validity. Since technology, Professor Johnson naïvely believes, almost indiscriminately is a powerful force for social demogratization, the people concerned with opportunity for Capadians in Canada are clearly, he believes, obstructing progress, and are somehow even racists.

"Instead of welcoming the democratizing influence and attempting to remove or mitigate the socially undesirable side-effects, they seek to resist the forces of modernization and democratization by cultivating hatred of Americans, by seeking to 'close the 49th parallel,' and by seeking to establish in Canada monopoly privileges for the Canadian-born over everyone else. They have been remarkably successful in disguising petit-bourgeois capitalism as idealistic socialism, and white Canadian Anglo-Saxon supremacy as national independence."

It is a bizarre, but not unusual claim against the people who reject U.S. imperialism that they are racists, among their other distressing sins.

HEN THREE CANADIAN students at the University of Windsor published a special study of de-Canadianization there, they were attacked in the student newspaper by a U.S. citizen who had spent ten years in the English Department. He declared the issue "bogus." He attacked the researchers for using the legal definition of citizenship in their citizenship count! He insisted upon claiming himself as a Canadian, writing of "our national literature," "our writers," etc. He is the editor of The University of Windsor Review. He has chosen to retain U.S. citizenship, though he chooses to write of Canadian literature citizenship, though he chooses to write of Canadian literature as "our national literature." A study of the last year of publication of The University of Windsor Review reveals 112

Robin Mathews Is co-author with James Steele of The Struggle for Canadian Universities (1969). This article was written for The Star-Spangled Beaver, a collection of views on U.S.-Canadian relations edited by John Redekop, published this month by Peter Martin Associates

SATURDAY NIGHT

Canadians very sparsely represented. It reveals, morzover, that about seventy per cent of contributors are U.S. citizens.

That is not an accident, nor is it unusual among so-called Canadian journals. The Americanization of Canada means precisely the takeover of Canadian culture by U.S. citizens. The persuasion, until very recently, that to advance was to "Americanize" guaranteed that U.S. citizens would "claim" Canada and that their role would be to bring it into the total

cultural territory of the U.S.A.

Frye's apparent sense of the inevitable, the almost necessitarian ubiquity of technological uniformity, U.S. style, has much to do with what is presently described as the "Americanization of the Canadian university," "the takeover," or as we generally prefer to call it, "the de-Canadianization of the university in Canada." It is that condition of mind among some leading Canadians that has been called "the colonial cringe," "continentalism," "Internationalism," and a dozen other unsuitable names, all of which attempt to describe the condition pointed to in the

quotation by Professor Frye. More than any other force—more than university expansion, the search for "excellence," the desire for a truly cosmopolitan intellectual community—the force which is neo-colonial, which is directly related to the Frye position, which regards the U.S. as superior, desirable, central, inevitably expansionist, and right, and Canada as inferior, parochial, and inept, has been the force most responsible for the deterioration of the Canadian university system.

That force has brought about the crisis in the Canadian university, and our present condition writes itself down in the plainest language of fact.

the plainest language of fact.

Since 1961, Canadian citizen participation in Canadian university faculty life has plunged downward, from something like seventy-five per cent to something around fifty per cent in the arts and sciences. In 1968-69, hirings were overwhelmingly non-Canadian; 1,013 positions were filled from the U.S. 545 from Great Britain, 722 from elsewhere, and the remainder, probably only about 360, were filled by Canadians. The figures are not complete yet for 1969-70 but the first three quarters reveal at least as bad a situation as in the previous year. Add to that information two other facts, and the bizarre, almost inexplicable picture forms itself clearly. In 1968-69, half (probably more) of full-time Ph.D. candidates in Canadian universities were non-Canadian.

That situation of heavy non-Canadian participation existed at the same time as administrators were saying publicly that qualified Canadians could not be found to fill university positions in Canada. Every information, in addition, that becomes available reveals a disturbing poverty of Canadian studies and studies that should properly involve serious reference to Canadian information and experience. That poverty has profound implications for an understanding of the colonial psychology, the political philosophy, and the social attitudes of scholars in Canada, and particularly of administrators in higher education.

But it has a more alarming implication, one that damns a great number of the so-called "liberal" scholars and administrators on their own most hallowed ground. For their protestation - the final defence of those who have permitted or allowed or encouraged the condition described above to come about - is that knowledge is universal. The university, moreover, is international, unaligned culturally, and responsible only and finally and definitely to knowledge and the search for truth.

Good enough. But what do we discover when we allow them their ultimate defence (which we believe is a simplistic half-truth)? We discover Canadian knowledge lamentably disregarded. We discover that some of the most exciting, complex, instructive material available in Canada - know-ledge that cannot be duplicated anywhere else in the world, Canadian knowledge - is ignored in most Canadian universities. That statement is true not only of rare and unusual knowledge. It is true, also, of easily accessible knowledge necessary to a fundamental understanding of the Canadian fact, of the truth about Canada, in history, literature, economics, politics, sociology, art, to mention only obvious

areas of extreme neglect.

The University of Toronto Graduate Department of English is the largest graduate training department in Canada.

For the year 1970-71 it offers graduate students choice from 106 courses. One, only, of the 106 courses is concerned with Canadian literature. A Canadian wishing to prepare himself with a graduate degree for high school, community college, or university teaching in Canada with a specialty in Canadian literature from the University of Toronto cannot do it. Moreover, the University of Toronto Graduate English Department accepts a high proportion of non-Canadian graduate students at a time when fourteen of the twenty largest English Departments in Canada are estimated to have largest English Departments in Canada are estimated to have fifty per cent or less (averaging about thirty-six per cent) of their staffs Canadian. The University of Toronto Graduate Department of English offers nine courses specifically stated as concerned with U.S. literature and about six others with U.S. content. When I wrote to the Chairman of the Graduate Department of English expressing some concern about the situation, he replied in a letter (June 17, 1970):
"On the Canadian literature business, for example, we

don't promote anything at all: we offer courses and thesis supervision from the resources of our staff. If someone wishes to give a course in Canadian literature, and the course

is acceptable, we offer it. We haven't got a 'school' of Canadian studies: other places have."

The University of Toronto doesn't have a "school" of American studies either. But it offers many courses in U.S. literature. In fact, if the University of Toronto were suddenly discovered to have in its Graduate Department of English only one course in U.S. literature, that would be considered a crisis of major proportions. But as far as Canadian literature is concerned no one, quite clearly, is especially hired. If someone happens to want — as an eccentric side interest — to teach a Canadian literature course, "and the course is acceptable," it is offered. A department of the size and importance of the University of Toronto Graduate Department of English should offer twelve courses in Canadian literature if it wishes fairly but modestly to represent literature, if it wishes, fairly but modestly, to represent knowledge and the search for truth as manifested by the Canadian literary imagination in Canadian history.

We are left with one conclusion about scholars and We are left with one conclusion about scholars and administrators defending the present situation: the facts defeat them unequivocally. When they speak of the pursuit of knowledge, they obviously have meant something other than knowledge that arises from Canada and Canadian experience. When they speak of truth, they have meant something other than the truth arrived at from study and profound thought, if the study has to be of Canadian things. What the situation in relation to Canadian knowledge and materials means, in its shortest and bluntest view is that materials means, in its shortest and bluntest view, is that scholars and administrators in Canadian higher education have failed even at what they claim is their primary business, the business of seeking and propagating all knowledge worthy of study, and of aiding in the search for truth wherever that search may reasonably lead.

F THERE HAD BEEN, on the part of university administration and scholars brought from distant points because of their

purported excellence, a serious attempt to treat Canadian material fully and fairly, the present issue would not now be before us. But, clearly, a part of the preference for alien scholars, among those who have sought them, had arisen from a contempt for Canada. Part of the emphasis on non-Canadian material has arisen from a contempt for Canadian material. Canadian courses, Canadian information. Canadian studies have usually been dragged into Canadian

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erly, part of the preference for alien olars has arisen from a contempt for

universities by Canadians, in the face of indifference on the part of administrators, protestation on the part of many fellow Canadians, and open or veiled contempt on the part of many of the "excellent" scholars brought to Canada because of the largeness of their views and the liberality of their understanding.

The delicate question arises about the adverse effects of large numbers of non-Canadian scholars in Canadian universities. Even where they have a strong desire to serve the Canadian academic community as such, ignorance and the pre-determined interests of non-Canadians often stand heavily in the way. That point was made in The University of Waterloo: A Special Study to the Minister of University Affairs Optorio and others (August 1, 1969)

Affairs Ontario, and others (August 1, 1969).

The poverty of Canadian studies was linked in that study to the fact that the University possessed an academic vice-president, dean of arts, three assistants to the dean, eight department chairmen in sensitive areas of the humanities and social sciences, and a heavy proportion of full professors in those departments, all of whom were U.S. citizens. In sociology, no courses dealing with Canada were listed in the calendar, though sixty-two were described. In the English Department, nine courses were listed in the literature of the United States. Many other literature courses contained heavy representations of U.S. literature. Two Canadian literature courses were listed.

Such is the general shape of information that is being recorded from all over Canada. The University of Waterloo may be extreme in some ways, but it is not as unusual as one would wish; and in the matter of Canadian material offered, it is not unusual at all. In disposition of faculty, however, its fourteen Ph.D.'s from Illinois in three departments, each of which had a chairman, himself an Illinois Ph.D., may be a more pointed example of the trend.

The strongest argument made in reply to the special study was that past conditions, government, and other agencies are to blame.

The then Ontario Minister of University Affairs, William Davis, refused to see the situation as a problem or evidence of a problem. Instead, he expressed his "regret at the of a problem. Instead, he expressed his region in the anti-American tone of your comments which appear to do a disservice to many able American scholars who have opted to make Canada their permanent home." Moreover, in an astounding development of his argument, the Minister misread the Ontario Human Rights Code and the position of the writers of the Special Study. He took the recommendation the writers of the Special Study. He took the recommenda-tions concerning the need to give fuller participation in Canadian university life to citizens of Canada as a plea for "discrimination on the basis of national origin" of non-Canadians. He suggested, moreover, that the position of the writers of the Special Study "night well be considered a violation of the Ontario Human Rights Code," which, of course, nowhere mentions citizenship since it is a legal status freely chosen or rejected by each individual.

But the Minister's attitude is important. He refused to engage the basic issues, and, in fact, obscured them in such a way as to suggest that concern for the diminution of Canadian participation in Canadian university life is somelrow an attack on U.S. citizens and "discriminatory" in a way that affronts any fair concept of human rights.

That was in 1969. In 1970, he continued with the same attitude, slightly muted. In his presentation to the Ontario Legislature at the time of the education estimates, Davis used information prepared by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and the Ontario Committee of University Presidents information which was shown to be hopelessly faulty. And yet it was presented as whole cloth and supported by the Minister. In essence, he was supporting the withholding of public information from the public. Tim Reid, Liberal education critic said in that regard:
"What I want is the detailed breakdown by faculty and by

department for each university, because only then can we get

department for each university, because only then can we get to the root of the problem: a quantitative and percentage breakdown for each department by rank. That is a breakdown by professor, by associate professor, by assistant professor, by lecturer, and by instructor.

"It is my opinion, and it is the epinion of this party, sir, that Canadians living in Ontario have an absolute right to know who are occupying the sensitive positions in our community and, particularly, in the university community. The withholding of this information, the refusal by many universities to cooperate positively in the DBS study and the refusal to allow the public to know the defailed facts are, in refusal to allow the public to know the detailed facts are, in my opinion, an irresponsible act on the part of the universities in this province."

Mr. Reid was speaking of Ontario. But he was attacking an attempt to hide information that is practised as rigorously in

some of the other Provinces.

HE ATTITUDE of the Canadian Association of University Teachers' executive has been almost equally unsympathetic. The CAUT Council refused, in 1969, to take any serious steps to seek information on a wider, more meaningful basis, and the whole of the research director's report was taken up with "the numbers game;" and, indeed, when a motion was made that Canadians should be hired when the qualifications of applicants were more or less equal, it was defeated,

In May, 1970, the CAUT National Council recognized a personnel problem and voted to greate a gommittee on the question. It also voted the creation of a Curriculum, Research, and Education Committee to work on the question of de-Canadianization through the whole educational system.

At every level, however, colonialism, contempt for Canada, and a blind "internationalism" create immense opposition to any reasonable call for a just handling of Canadian material and fair opportunity for Canadian citizens. Even attempts to gather reasonable information are Even attempts to gather reasonable information are obstructed. The failure of English-Canadian universities to move dynamically into French-Canadian studies, and especially into rigorous experimental programmes in lenguage training, is a flagrant example of the fact, moreover, that Canadians believe their own most profound problems are parochial. Canadian journals in the humanities and creative fiction are increasingly non-Canadian. Canadian students are increasingly forced to take the Princeton/Stanford Graduate increasingly forced to take the Princeton/Stanford Graduate Record Examinations which are always wholly inadequate tests of Canadian knowledge. Non-Canadians, particularly U.S. citizens - almost wholly ignorant of Canada - continue to flow into the Canadian university system and other branches of cultural life. *

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SATURDAY NIGHT

GLOBE & MAIL TORONTO, ONT.

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Northrop Frye, Macpherson award winners

OTTAWA (CP) - Literary scholar Northrop Frye, news-paper cartoonist Duncan Macpherson and author EYves Theriault, were each awarded \$15,000 Molson Prizes by the ¿ Canada Council Sesterday.

Presentation of the awards was made at a reception by council director Peter Dwyer.

The prizes, awarded annually since 1963, are financed by an \$800,000 grant to the council from the Molson Foundation.

Frye, 58, a University of Toronto professor, has earned Frye, 58. an international reputation as theorist in literary criti-

Educated at the University, of Toronto, Emmanuel College and Oxford University, Frye has written a variety of books about writers and writ-

His books on individual authors, including Blake, Milton, Shakespeare and T. S. Eliot, are regarded as important contributions.

In others he dealt with the theory of literary criticism and with the relations between creative imagination tween creative imagination and social problems. A new-book, The Bush Garden: Es-says on the Canadian Imagin-ation, will be released this month.

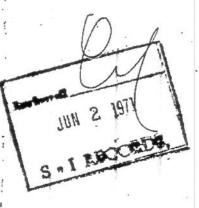
month.

Macpherson, 45, is widely known for his pointed political cartoons in the Toronto Star. He studied at the Ontario College of Art, the Boston Museum School and in England, and before joining the Star in 1953 he illustrated articles for a number of Canadian magazines.

Macpherson has won several National Newspaper awards, and in 1965 his editorial drawings were exhibited at the Art Gallery of Ontario.

Ontario.

Theriault, 54, a Montreal novelist, journalist and commentator, has received many honors, including the Grand Prix d'art dramatique de Radio-Canada in 1953, the Canadian Radio Award, also in 1953, the Province of Quebec Literary Prize for his novel Agaguk and the Governor-General's Literary Award for another novel, Ashini, Educated in Montreal, he has worked for the National Film Board and the department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Development.



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Profs petition against W

Measures Act

Over 20 well-known Toronto figures, including U of T political economy professor C. Brough Macpherson and Globe and Mail sports editor Dick Beddoes have signed a statement protest-ing the trials held in Quebec under the War Measures Act.

The statement which has been refused publication in all

three major Toronto daily papers is reprinted below.

We believe the future of freedom in Canada depends on public understanding of the current Quebec trials, and the issues

The federal government, contrary to its implied promises of last October, produced no evidence to justify the use of the War Measures Act and the passage of the Public Order Act.

These Acts are being used not to prosecute criminal activity

· but to suppress political opinion, in the same way opinion is suppressed in fascist and communist states. Since these are federal Acts, all Canadians must accept responsibility for this situation.

The trials of those now charged under the WMA are not criminal but political trials. Canadians now face prisyn sentences

not for what they do but for they think and say. We do not refer to the charges relating to kidnapping and murder.

The War Measures Act is being used, therefore, not as most Canadians expected it to be used - to oppose violent revolution but as a means to silence political opposition.

We believe freedom and democracy in Canada will be best served if the federal government withdraws the Public Order Act immediately, and if the Quebec government withdraws the indictments under the War Measures Act. We urge that the Canadian and Overhee several test with the Canadian and the

dian and Quebec governments be petitioned to do so.

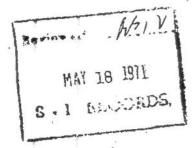
Last, we urge especially that English-speaking Canadians, who have been shanefully silent on this issue, speak out against this perversion of Canadian justice.

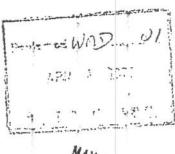
ADick Beddoes, journalist Allans Blumenfeld, town planner, Stanley Burke, TV journalist Reverend James Fisk Barbara Fram TV journalist

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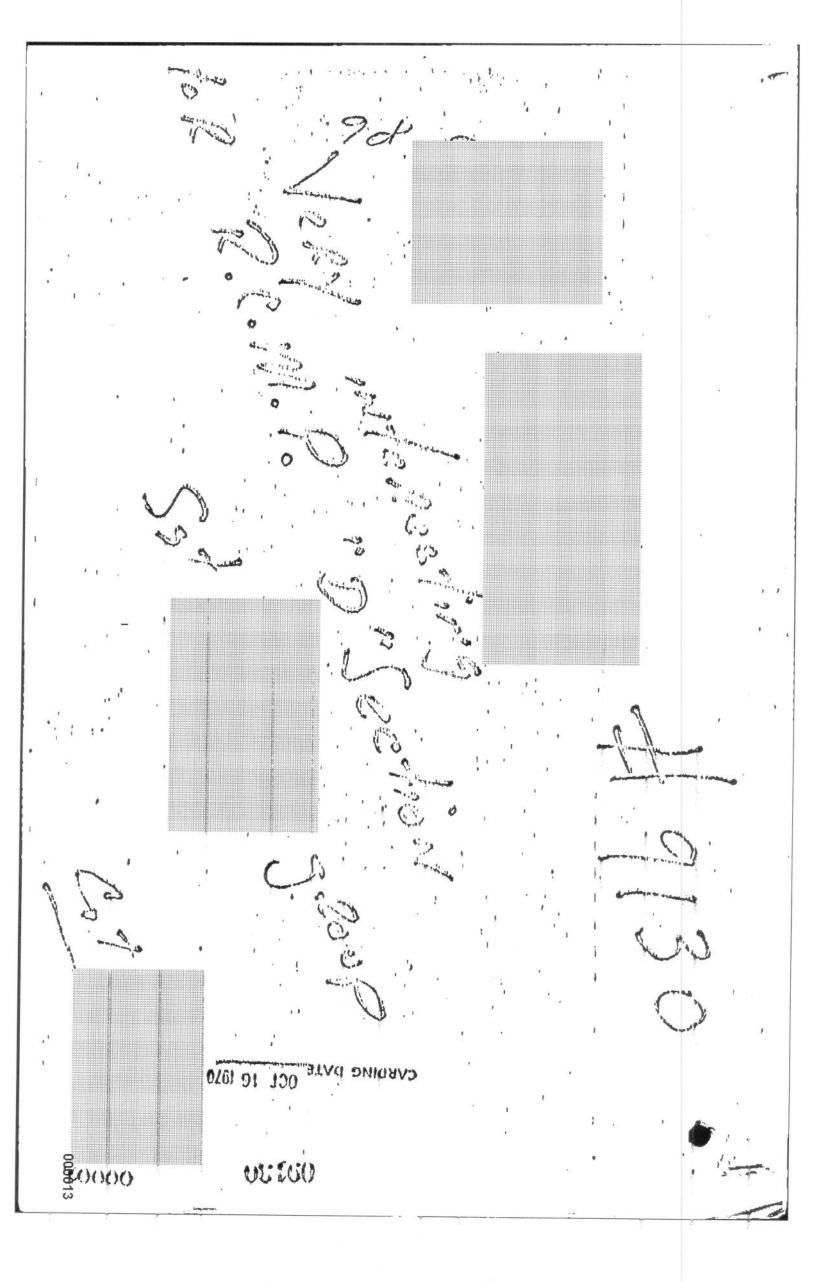
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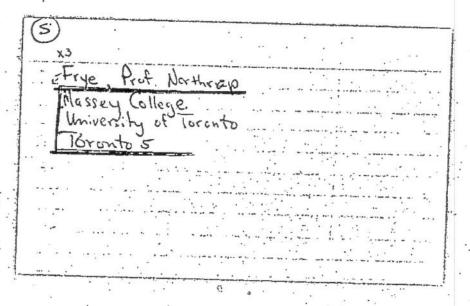
At: forther dies. "D-I| Section. THE COMMISSIONER - ATTENTION: D.S.I. 1. FORWARDED together with attachments referred to above. Cursory examination indicates that a lot of this material is of intelligence value, but we are unable for the foresecable future to give same proper study and processing. We have not retained any copy of the documents here, but would appreciate hearing from you in due course. Montreal, Walsh, S/Insp., Respond 10-11-70. Asst. S. I.B. Of of c 10 mm Encl. PECUMENTS S. I BUCCARD CARAED 14-10.70



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International Conference On Radism and War

A public rally at Massey Hall on Friday, October 16 will open the International Conference on Racism and War in Toronto.) Speakers will include Huey Newton, if the courts allow him to leave California, and Oliver Tambo, actingpresident African National Congress.

On October 17 & 18 conference sessions will take place around the themes of the economic aspects of racism, the political aspects of racism, racism: a threat to world peace and solutions to racism and war.

Papers are to be presented to each session by prominent economists, writers, psychologists and others from the Americas, Asia, Africa and Europe. It is expected that delegates will come from all parts of the world to attend this conference.

The conference organizers stated that the aim is to both present hard information on the question of racism and its relation to world peace and to provide a meeting ground for all those involved in struggle against these twin scourges of mankind.

The conference is regarded as an opener to the world-wide activity which is expected in 1971 --- which has been designated International Year Against Racial Discrimination by the United Nations.

Assistance from Torontonians for billeting, office work, registration, etc., would be appreciated. Volunteers please phone directly to the International Conference Office. The conference address in Toronto is 76 Huron St., Toronto 130.

Registration fee will be \$10.00 for delegates of an organization or \$5.00 for an individual.

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INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY (VIETNAM WAR TRIBUNAL) - MONTREAL, QUEBEC MAY 1970

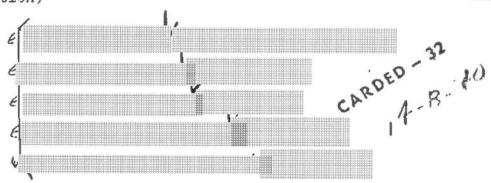
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PAGE

6-7-70

CARDING DATE.

(Continuation)

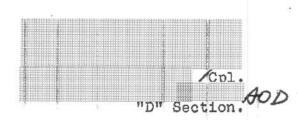


this correspondence by mail and has no intention to answer it. He suspects having been selected by and his friends as a proposed commissioner for Canada concerning the I.C.I. on account of his past functions as Director General of the Quebec Provincial Police and high ranked officer in the R.C.M.P.

INVESTIGATOR'S COMMENTS

With regard to paragraph four (4), it should be noted that many of these proposed commissioners are members of Parliament or persons well considered in Canada and on which we never had adverse information. It is the writer's opinion that and his friends are attempting to get the sympathy of these persons by using the Feace approach.

6. Also, to be noted on page one (1) of this attachment that the word "June" has been crossed out and that "September" has been added underneath. This confirms the postponement of the I.C.I.



ENCL.: Attachment # 1.

6-7-70

CARDING LINE

RE: INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY (VIETNAM WAR TRIBUNAL) - MONTREAL, QUEBEC MAY 1970

(Continuation)

THE COMMISSIONER, OTTAWA

that and his friends are already getting the effect they are seeking for their commission propaganda, i.e. add respectability to the commission in Canada, by including in their correspondance kit the list of the persons (Att. #1, page 9) whom they have pretentiously selected for commissioners. It can logically be assumed that these kits have already been largely distributed and created the desired effect **Pregardless of the positive or silent answer which group may received. As a matter of fact, it is doubtful that group cares about the answers, having already chosen the persons they want for commissioners.

A point of interest is that the very list of persons that SLOAN's group is using could be directly turned against them. Possibly most of these persons who are loyal will just not bother to answer and remain silent as Mr. has already indicated he will do. group will no doubt welcome these silent refusals. On the other hand, if some of these persons whose loyalty is known to us could be encouraged to publicly deny their participation in this organization, it would certainly deal same a severe blow which would disrupt if not kill it entirely. It should place this so called peace movement in its true context and publicly identify its instigators, thus making any of their future activities more difficult.

3. If, by chance, the selection of commissioners was unbiased, we could at this stage enquirage some of the persons solicited to accept the function proposed to them and these people could then denounce the true aspect of this commission by a large

... "9"

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CARcure Serve 6-7-70

ALCOS BR

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY (VIETNAM WAR TRIBUNAL) - MONTREAL, QUEBEC

MAY 1970.

(Continuation)

Press conference held at the opportune time. We are not taking any action in respect of the suggestions outlined above, but would welcome your comments on our suggestions.

MONTREAL 20 JUL 70

...

T.R. WALSH), S/Insp. Asst. S.I.B. Officer.

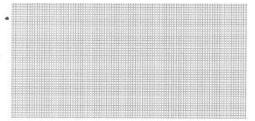
SECRET

FRENCH LANGUAGE. TRANSLATED BY K.H. AT RCMP HEADQUARTERS

(6-7-70)

VIETNAM MORATORIUM COMMITTEE

May 14, 1970.



In the face of the war crimes perpetrated in Vietnam by the United States, the Stockholm Vietnam Conference expressed the indignation of all the peoples of the world and their earnest desire to bring justice to the Vietnamese people.

The Conference decided to set up an international commission of inquiry into the nature and the extent of the war crimes and atrocities of the American and allied war machine against the people of Vietnam.

The Commission will see to it that evidence is gathered, centralized and examined by all the means at its disposal. Having heard the evidence, the Commission is to prepare, publish and circulate its full report. A summary of the evidence shall be included in order that a judgment can be brought before world opinion.

The first session of the Commission is scheduled for the first week of September 1970, in Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

Following its deliberations, the Stockholm Vietnam Conference instructed the Vietnam Moratorium Committee in Montreal to organize the said inquiry.

Kindly find enclosed herein the provisional list of eminent international personalities who have already agreed to sit on the Commission. Our committee has been requested to invite well-known Canadians to sit on this Commission. We are therefore especially pleased to invite you to participate as a commissioner. For your information, you will find attached hereto the names of the other Canadians we have contacted.

..2

SECRET

(6-7-70)

- 2 -

We venture to think that you will be able to give some of your valuable time in order to make a project of this size a reality. You would thus be contributing to reinforcing our goal.

While anticipating your prompt acceptance, I remain,

Yours truly,

for the Committee

BOX 475, STATION OUTREMONT, MONTREAL, QUEBEC, CANADA.



comité moratoire du Vietnam

APPENDICE 1.

De Remo-

C.P. 475; STATION OUTREMONT, MONTRÉAL, QUÉBEC, CANADA.

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Page(s) 000027 to / à 000028

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the Access to Information Act Loi sur l¿accès à l¿information

Gart/deg

December 4, 1969. √

SECRET

Mr. D.B. Beavis, Secretary of the Security Sub-Panel, Privy Council Office, Room 225 - East Block, Ottawa, Ontario.

Attached is a blind memorandum dated December 4, 1969 concerning Horace (known to you) and the Faculty Committee on Vietnam (FCV) (Communist infiltrated) at the University of Toronto.

(J.E.M. Barrette),
Assistant Commissioner,
Director,
Security and Intelligence.

c.c. Security and Intelligence Liaison Division C.C. MA MOSS LEE INNES - Sec 16-12-69

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ENORTHROP FRYE- TORONTO

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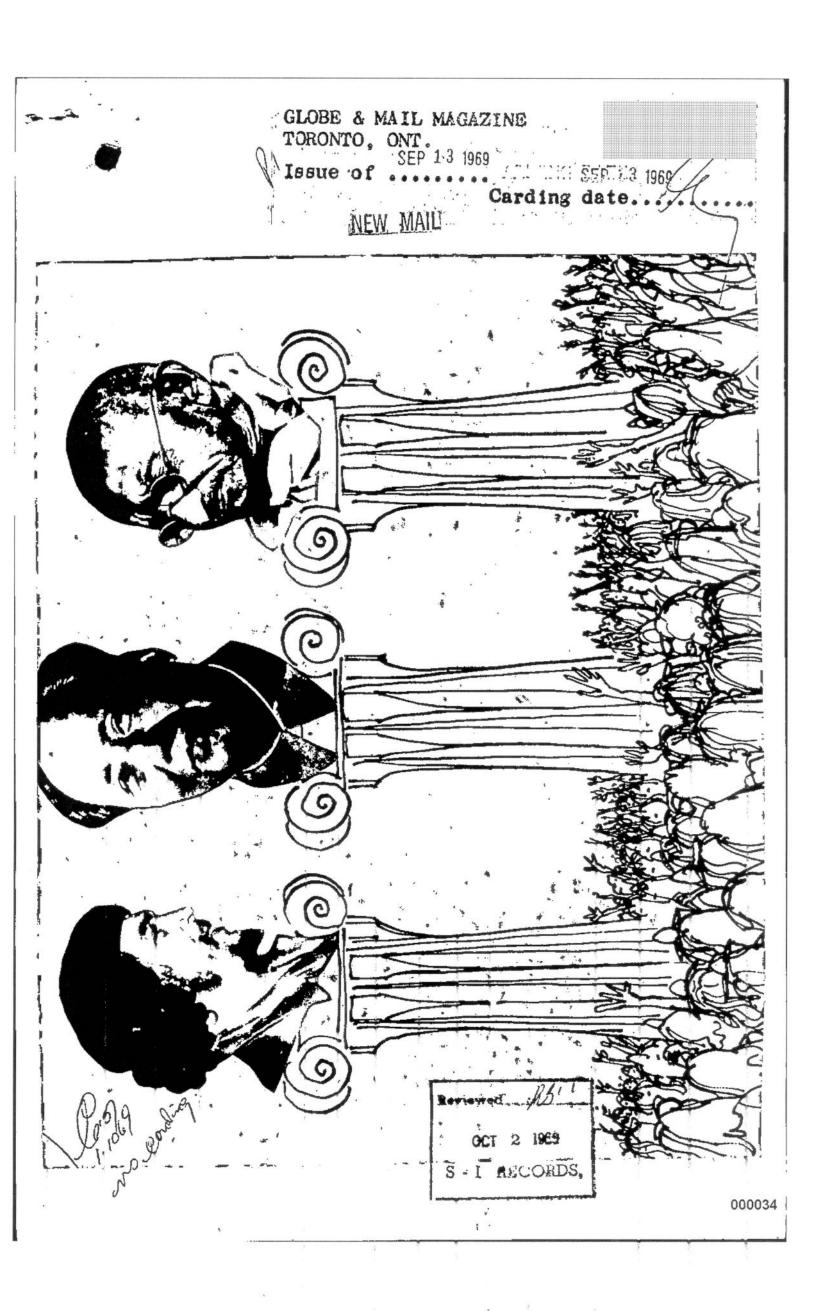
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the Access to Information Act Loi sur l¿accès à l¿information



GLOBE & MAIL MAGAZINE

TORONTO, ONT.

SEP 13 1969... Issue of

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It's back to classes at the universities - and back to trouble? Perhaps not so much in Canada, but elsewhere whole nations are bracing themselves against! a new onslaught of student rage. What underlies it? A University of Toronto professor, world renowned literary critic, puts the phenomenon in perspective

The first half of the Twentieth Century saw two world wars, each of which was started by a reactionary military autocracy operating mainly in Germany, and ended in a major Com-munist revolution, first in Russia, then in China.

The second half of the century is seeing the beginning of a new revolutionary development that seems to have more in common with an-

BY NORTHROP FRYE

archism than with communism. The anarchist nature of the New Left is often recognized, but usually without much sense of the traditions or context of anarchism.

In my own student days, during the Depression of the Thirties, anarchism was a negligible force, at least on North American campuses, and the most influential radical movements were close to Marxism as interpreted by Stalin.

The pro-Stalinist radical thought of himself as a worker-that is, he had no quarrel with the work ethic of capitalism as an ethic, only with

and right wing were essential to him; because seems more the guerrilla leader of 30 years ago he thought in terms of an eventual separation than the present ruler of China. and struggle for power between projetarian and

and struggle for power between proletarian and bourgeois camps.

The contemporary anarchist, like his Nine-like to the surface of the global context protected and organized strategy. His attitude to of contemporary unrest, but his own movement social issues was rational, every injustice and is likely to be confined to an immediate area of cruelty under capitalism being only what one interest. Hence small separatist movements, would expect of that system. His attitude to the like those in Quebec or Belgium, are also a part arts was deeply conservative, based mainly on the content of what was said or painted, or, at most, on allegorical reference.

I remember a Canadian Communist magation, is also anarchist in context. In some retained that condemned practically all Twepticity spects this fact presents a political picture alignment of the previous generatism, and reproduced Victorian anecdotal pictures, depicting foreclosures, of mortgages and the like, as examples of the genuine cultural salty during the Thirties, trade unions and the

kind of thing that capitalism encouraged.

Hardly any of these characteristics are true of the present New Left. Like the Nineteenth Century anarchists, contemporary radicals tavor direct action, or "confrontation," and favor also the kind of spontaneous uprising with no context in past or future, which is without precedence and without direction. The word exisltential is often used approvingly to describe a political action which has no particular point. It Unlike the Stalinist with his sacred texts of

Mark and Lenin and his libraries of commen-tary on them, many who call themselves anarchists today have never heard of Kropotkin or Bakunin, or would take the slightest interest in them if they had. The Nineteenth Century anar-Chists lost out to the more disciplined Commu-nists in the struggle for control of the working class, partly because they tended to the ex-tremes of either passivity or violence.

Similarly, radicals of today range from flower children to assassins, though their main centre of gravity is of course in an intermediate activism. Their most effective revolutionary tac-tics are closer to Gandhi than to Lenin, and ork ethic of capitalism as an ethic, only with their great heroes are romanties like the Gue-

the like, as examples of the genuine cultural salty during the Thirties, trade unions and the tradition. The Stalinist's personal ethics, when revolutionary directives of Moscow, have beconsistent with his political putlook, tended to come reactionary social forces, whereas some be rigorous; self-indulgence or muddling one's radical movements like the Black Panthers, mind with figure and drugs was for him only the which appear to have committed themselves kind of thing that capitalism encouraged. both to violence and to racism, seem to descent from fascism, which also had anarchist affin-

Similarly anarchism does not seek to create a working class: much of its dynamic comes. from a bourgeois distillusionment with an over-productive society, and some types of radical protest, like those of the hipmes, are essentially protests against the work othic itself.

Both political inovernents show many anala-

GLOBE & MAIL MAGAZINE TORONTO, ONT SEP 1 3 1969

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gies to the religious movements which preceded them. The attitude of the old line Stalinist to the Soviet Union was very like that of a Roman Catholic to his church, at least before the Second Vatican Council. There was a tremendous international institution which was the definitive interpreter of the Marxist revelation, and one could work effectively for the world-wide triumph of that revelation only from within the institution.

Contemporary anarchists, at least those who can read, are more like the Puritans in the way that they seek a primitive gospel in the early work of Marx, before social and institutional. Marxism began to corrupt it.

Among religious bodies, those who are most dramatically increasing their membership today are the most uncritical and fundamentalist sects, and I doubt that this is only coinci-dence. There are some curious parallels be-tween the present and the Nineteenth Century American scene, between contemporary turn-on sessions and Nineteenth Century ecstatic revivalism, between beatnik and hippie communes and some of the Nineteenth Century utopian projects. Stalinist Marxism had practically nothing in the American tradition to attach itself to, but

.The drug cults are part of an attempt to recharge the batteries of the mind . after they have been drained by disllusionment

anarchism is one of the central elements in American culture.

Anarchism has another advantage over communism in its relation to the creative arts. The primary revolutionary categories of today tend to be psychological rather than economic, closer in many respects to Freud than to Marx, as we see in many of the writers who have tried to articulate the present radical mood, such as Herbert Marcuse.

When the contemporary radical denounces Intervention in Vietnam or Negro segregation, he does not think of these things as merely byproducts of the contradictions of capitalism; he sees the emotional and imaginative factors in these situations as primary, and as the main elements to be opposed or supported. This primary place assigned to emotion means among other things that the anarchist is not hampered, as the orthogonal management of the support of the supp canons of social realism which judge mainly by

A ferment in the arts, including a revival of: oral poetry, is an integral part of today's radi-calism, as, despite a great many spasmodic ef-forts, it never became in the radicalism of 30, years ago.

The drug cults are another aspect of the same psychologically-based activity. They are not intended merely to take one's mind off one's troubles: they are part of an attempt to recharge the batteries of the mind after they have been drained by disillusionment: that is, by the withdrawal of libido from consumer goods, or what advertising is still presenting as the good what advertising is still presenting as the good things of life,

The metaphors of left and right wing are

still employed, but they have much less relevance to anarchism than to communism. The Marxist saw a steadily widening split between two parts of society, an eventual struggle for power, and the final victory of the working class. The contemporary radical seems to think rather in terms of a single society, with local-ized cells and nuclei of radicalism agitating and transforming it from within, Communism was intensely teleological in

spirit: every Communist-directed strike or demonstration was one step in the great campaign of class struggle and revolutionary triumph.

The anarchism of today seems almost as in-different to the future as to the past: one protest will be followed by another, because even if one issue is resolved society will still be "sigk." but there appears to be no clear program of taking control or assuming permanent responsibil-

ity in society.

If I am right, then anarchism is committed by the logic of its position to becoming increasingly non-violent. Violence appears to be an inescapable stage in sobering up an unwilling conservatism and in impressing it with the sense that it is not dealing with children. But once the that it is not dealing with children. But once the pattern of opposition is established, the effectiveness of violence diminishes.

Naturally this does not happen easily, vio-lence being the opinte of the revolutionary: even university students are strongly affected by the "let's do something and not just talk about it" syndrome. But where there is no really serious conception of a climactic struggle for power in which the victor achieves permanent authority, talk is the final mode of radical action, and the form that its ultimate confrontation has to take.

I mentioned the affinity between some con-temporary anarchism and fascism, with its belief in violence as being in a sense its own end, in Nazi Germany this took the form of a melan-chely Götterdämmerung nihijism, whose goal appeared to be not so much its professed one of world rule as annihilation in some heroic last stand, a second Roncesvalles or Thermopylae. This mood is, I think, intelligible to today's anlarghist, who has inherited all the heroic gluom of existentialism, as it was utterly unintelligi-ble to the Stalinist radical.

I remember when Yeats' Last Poems appeared in 1939, and how brusquely their sardonic bleakness was dismissed as morbid by the radicals of that day. But they speak with a peculiar and haunting eloquence now, even to the most self-rightcous of student radicals.

GLOBE & MAIL MAGAZINE TORONTO, ONT.

Issue of . SEP 13 1969 SEP 13

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Up to about 1945, one of the most solidly rooted assumptions in middle class Western culture was the sense of continuity in time. That is, life was thought of teleologically, as something The resulting crisis of spirit is a far-reach-that contained a developing purpose and directing one. That it has caused a political crisis tron. Some gave this feeling a religious refer- goes without saying. But there is also a crisis in ence: for many Christians the essence of Chris- the arts. The creative artist cannot appeal to timity was in the creative artist cannot appeal to the first the creative artist cannot appeal to the creative artist ca tianity was in the renewed meaning which the posterity, as he no longer assumes that the fulnearnation had given to human history. In ture will be continuous with the present, and Marxist thought the historical process, which is an irresistible force on the side of those who accept it, played a similar role. cept it, played a similar role .

One of the most striking cultural facts of our time is the disappearance of the teleological sense. We tend now to think of our lives as being a discontinuous sequence of immediate experiences. What holds them together, besides mere survival, can only be some kind of voluntary

and enforced ideology.

Thus the artist may keep his life continuous by a belief in creativity, the business man by a belief in productivity, the religious man by a bclief in God, the politician by a belief in policy.
But the more intense the immediate experience, the more obviously its context in past and future time drops away from it.

The word absurd refers primarily to the disappearance of the sense of continuity in our

day.

In this situation there is one positive feature of great importance: the sharpening of moral 'sensitivity. Belief in progress can easily become the most morally callous of all beliefs. The thing about Russian Marxism that most sickened its bourgeois supporters was the readiness with which it could (and still can, evidently) embark ion a massacre, an invasion of a small independent country, or a deliberately induced famine, for the sake of the greater good that such procedures would bring, from its own point of view, to proceed the sake of the greater good that such procedures would bring, from its own point of view, to posterity.

It seems to me admirable that contemporary radicals should be concerned with the rights of those who are alive now, and should be protesting the Vietnam war because it is killing innocent people at this moment, and refusing to listen to any long term rationalizations about the crusade against communism or the white

man's burden.

A less attractive side of the same situation is the general panic, even hysteria, that the loss of reference to temporal context has left us with. The most obvious form of this panic is the flight from the past: the anxiety to be up to date, to be rid of unfashionable ideas and techniques, to condemn everything unsatisfactory with the same formula, that it is too cumbersome and obsolete for the unimpeded movement

assumed to be necessary today.

A society with a revolutionary basis, like American society, is often inclined to be impatient of history and tradition. "History is bunk." said Henry Ford, at one end of the social scale: "I don't take no stock in dead people," said Huck-leberry Finn. at the other. The future, in such a view, cannot be the outcome of the past: it is a brand new future, which may be implicit in the present but is to be built out of the materials of the present by an act of will which cannot oper-ate until it has been released from the past.

The strongly negative mood in today's radicalism, the tendency to be against rather than for is consistent with this: whatever is defined is manipering, and only the undefined is free.

ture will be continuous with the present, and more important, the impetus to produce the "great" work of art has itself been considerably weakened. For traditionally, the great work of art became a classic, that is, a work connecting the present with the past.

One sometimes wonders if the age of great writers or painters or composers is over, and if what is in front of us culturally is not rather a diffused creative energy, much or most of it tak-ing fairly ephemeral forms, and a general rather than a specialized social product . . .

I feel that contemporary radicalism is deeply, even desperately, religious both in its anxieties and in its assertions: that it cannot, for the most part, accept the answers given its questions by the existing religious bodies, and that a great deal of student unrest is based on a feeling that the university ought to be trying to answer such questions, but cannot do so until it has been shaken loose from the "establishment."

That this is a misunderstanding of what the

university is and can do is undoubtedly true, But the questions remain, as urgent as ever, and some people in the universities ought to try to deal with them sympathetically, as questions, before they freeze into immature dogmas.

There are two social conceptions so deeply. rooted in our experience that they can be presented only as myths. One is the social contract, the myth which attempts to explain the pature of the conditioning we accept by getting born.
The other is the utopia, the myth of an ideal soial contract. Both these myths have religious affiliations:

the contract is connected with the alienation myth of the fall of man, and the utopia with the transcendence myth of the City of God. The overtones of the social contract myth are ironic,

sometimes tragic.

The conservative temperament is strongly attracted by the positive aspects of this contract. He feels that his own development is a matter of growing organically out of the roots of his so-context. What is presented to him at birth, he feels like set of levelting given to him at birth, he feels, is a set of loyelties given to him before he is capable of choosing them. To try to reject what one is already committed to can only lead to confusion and chaos, both in one's own life and in society. Further, we discover in the permanence and continuity of social institutions, such as church and state, something that not only civilizes man, but adds a dimension of significance to his otherwise brief, insignificant life.

Such, it seems to me, is the conservative friew of the social contract. The radical view of it focuses on the uncritical element in our inherted loyalties, as expressed in such maxims as "my country right or wrong." Maturity and development, the radical feels, is a matter of becoming aware of our conditioning, and, in so be-

GLOBE & MAIL MAGAZINE TORONTO, ONT. 13 1969

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Stalin's version of Marxism had early radical appeal

coming aware, of making a choice between presented and discovered loyalties.

This attitude, developing through Rousseau and Marx, reached a further stage with the existentialism that followed the Second World War. Traditionally, the difference between sanity and hysteria, between reality and hallucination, had always been that sanity and reality lasted longer, and were continuous in a way that their opposites could not be. The rise of Nazi Germany suggested the possibility of a social hysteria indefinitely prolonged by the control of communications. But perhaps what we have been calling sanity and reality is an unconsciously induced hysteria, and the way to deliverance is through and beyond the loyalty of uncritical acceptance. The only real loyalty, then, is the voluntary or self-chosen loyalty.

This is the state of mind which dominates the radical of today: an intensely utopian state of mind which feels that it owes loyalty only to a social ideal not yet in existence. The Vietnam issue particularly raises the question of what was lealled, in the title of an indifferent book of 20 years ago, the meaning of treason.

The utopian attitude begins in detachment, but at that point conceives of an alternative institution and transfers its loyalties to that. This alternative institution will of course also demand commitments and of a more intense kind; it will tolerate much less dissent and criticism, much less sense of the absurd or ironic, than the conservative outlook, unless frightened by crisis, permits.

sis, permits.

It seems to me that the Marxist revolutionary movement is the definitive form of what I have called the utopian attitude of mind, the transfer of lovalty from one's native society to

another society still to be constructed. When Engels contrasted utopian and "scientific" socialism he was really completing the utopian argument. In a world like ours a limited utopia, confined to one definite place, is an empty fantasy: it must be a world-wide transformation of the whole social order or it is nothing. But for it to be this it must be conceived as the end to which history points. The "scientific" element in Marxist socialism, then, is a religious belief in the teleology of history.

Marxism envisages a social cleavage in which the possibility of argument, discussion, or what is now called dialogue disappears. One does not need to answer an argument: one needs only to identify it as coming from our side or theirs. It is not talk, but a planned sequence of actions leading to an ultimate confrontation or showdown that is important.

I suggested earlier that the contemporary anarchist radical, though he adopts much of this attitude, is really a post-Marxist revolutionary, forced by the logic of the situation from action into dialogue. He has no real sense of a proletarian society, and his protest is, primarily and essentially, protest, not a mere prelude to taking power himself.

There is a vogue for certain words which seem for a time to have a magical significance. Twenty years ago one such word was maturity, now out of fashion for obvious reasons. It does seem to me to have some meaning, if not a magical one.

The child, and the adolescent in a different way, oscillates between loyalty to the community of his contemporaries and moods of rebelliousness and introversion. As one matures, one's social mask becomes more difficult to remove, and one becomes resigned to a continuous social role. But that very process of adjusting to society is what makes the genuine individual possible. The barriers designed to protect the individual from encroachment from without have to dissolve before he can realize that he is not a real individual until his energy flows freely into his social relations.

What is true of personal life is true of society. Primitive societies are rigidly ritualized ones; only the mature society permits the genuine individual to emerge. By doing so it does not fall apart: it merely transfers more of its order from external compulsion to internal discipline, from reflex response to the habit of learning. The artist, too, often begins as a member of a school, issuing manifestos and the like, but tends to draw away from such affiliations as he finds his own style. Yet his growing individuality is also a measure of his social acceptance.

If we take a second look at our greatest utopians, Plato and Sir Thomas More, we notice
that Socrates in the Republic is not concerned
jabout setting up his ideal state anywhere: what
he is concerned about is the analogy between his
ideal state and the structure of the wise man's
mind, with its reason, will and desire corresponding to the philosopher-king, soldiers and artisans of the political myth. The ideal state exists,
so far as we know, only in such minds, which
will obey its laws whatever society they are
actually living in.

similarly, More calls his ideal state Utopia. meaning nowhere. Hythloday (the "bab-barey"), who has been to Nowhere, has returned a revolutionary Communist, convinced that nothing can be done with Europe until it has been destroyed and a replica of the utopia set up in its place. But More himself, to whom the story lis being told, suggests using the knowledge of Utopia rather as a means of bringing about an improvement in European society for the state.

improvement in European society from within.

Plate and More realize that while the wise man's mind is rigidly disciplined, and while the mature state is ordered, we cannot take the

GLOBE & MAIL MAGAZINE ... TORONTO, ONT. SEP 1 3 1969

Issue of

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analogy between the disciplined mind and the disciplined state too literally. For Plato cer-tainly, and for More probably, the wise man's mind is a ruthless dictatorship of reason over appetite, achieved by control of the will. When we translate this into its social equivalents of a philosopher-king ruling workers by storm troopers, we get the most frightful tyranny.

But the real utopia is an individual goal, of which the disciplined society is an allegory.

Not only does contemporary radicalism in that man is using the separatist movements, but it is itself in the troversy or radical questioning, because existential in faciling and hence the troversy or radical questioning, because existential in faciling and hence the troversy or radical questioning. I should call clude separatist movements, but it is itself in-tensely separatist in feeling, and hence the: question of where one stops separating becomes central. One feels that the more extreme radi-cals of our time are simply individualists. The more strident the anarchist slogan (e.g.: "Let's have a revolution first and find out why later"), have a revolution first and find out why later"), " the key to them is literature, the laboratory of the more clearly the individualistic basis of its, myths. It is these subjects with which student attitude appears, and the more obviously the atopian attitude is a projection of it.

In this process the refusal of all loyalty and authority, the attempt of the individual to assert himself against his whole social context, is one such infantile impulse, to be listened to and ignored. The mature individual, twho has come to some working arrangement with his so-ciety, is looking rather for a loyalty which is coherent and objective enough to create a com-munity, but commands an authority that fulfils and does not diminish the individual.

Such a conception of authority is the kind of, authority that education embodies: the authority of logic and reason, of demonstrable and re-peatable experiment, of established fact, of compelling imagination

All forms of education are at once useful and liberal: they help us to locate ourselves in existing society and they help to develop us as individuals, detached but not withdrawn from that society. Of course these are conceptions far wider than the university, but the university is obviously that continuously that obviously their engine room, and their power can last only so long as the university keeps operating. The university then, is the source of free authority in society, not as an institution, but as the place where the appeal to reason, experiment, evidence and imagination is contin-.uously going on.

It is on this basis, perhaps, that we can deal. The university is the source with the demand of student activists for relevance in relation to personal as distinct from so call life. There are two aspects to this demand; of free authority in society, a utilitarian aspect and a liberal one. The utility one is for subjects of education to conturian one is for subjects of education to con-turian one is for subjects of education to con-form to what the student thinks to be his present relation to society, so that, for instance, Twen-tieth Century literature would be more relevant than medicual literature. This is, of course, an experiment, evidence and imagination than medieval literature. This is, of course, an · immature demand, and should be met with mas-

In literature, which is what I know best, every major writer may be studied in his relation to the communicative power that makes him relevant to us. To concentrate solely on the latter distincts him by translating him entirely into our modes of thought.

The loss of belief in any form of continuity has led to a feeling of the necessity of breaking through the habits of knowledge. sive and uncompromising resistance.
In literature, which is what I know best,

When we study him in relation to his own through the habits of knowledge. with unfamiliar assumptions, beliefs and values. But contact with these is what expands our own view of human possibilities, and it is what is irrelevant, in the narrow sense, about; what we study that is the liberalizing element in it . . . _

But there are other subjects which deal, not with the world around man, but with the world

itial values are built into them. I should call them the mythological subjects: they include large areas of history, political theory, religion, philosophy, psychology and anthropology, and activism today is largely concerned. The sciences are to a degree impersonal, but the mythological subjects have to be more personally,

taught.

We have to start again with the decline of the sense of continuity and teleology. Knowledge is, of course, and always must be, continu uous and structured. A generation ago, this feature of knowledge was taken for granted, and the continuity of the university was accepted even by the most radical, as a part of the general continuity of human existence. Much student unrest today springs from what is actually a very ancient conception, though never expressed now, so far as I know, in its traditional terms: the superiority of wisdom to knowledge, Knowledge is knowledge of something: wisdom is a sense of the potential rather than the actual, a practical knowledge ready to meet what ever eventualities may occur, rather than a specific knowledge of this or that subject.

Formerly, wisdom was associated with sen-fiority, it being assumed that experience carried with it a residual continuity which gave older speople a fuller perspective. Or, as Yeats says, carrying the same principle one logical step

is continuously going on

GLOBE & MAIL MAGAZINE TORONTO. ONT.



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What many students today want is some guidance in how to deal with their own sense of the discontinuity in experience. Knowledge for them is prepared to the continuity in them. them is propaedeutic: one needs only the minimum of knowledge that will introduce one to the great existential issues. After the three Rs, the three As: anxiety, alienation, absurdity. In-stead of entering into a structure of knowledge, one seeks the higher wisdom through unstructured means, chiefly informal discussion. In this

quest the word dialogue has acquired a portentous verbal magic.

As the student protest has gone on, it has. tended to take an anti-intellectual form, to be-s come, in its most extreme versions, a repudiation of the educational contract itself, a refusal, to appeal to reason or experience or history or anything except emotional reflex. In its anti-intellectual form it joins on, naturally, to the anti-intellectualism of the past.

Fifty years ago we had Stephen Leacock and his recipe for starting a university with informal discussions among students, going out to "hire a few professors" when he got around to it. This in turn reflected the old Oxbridge mystique of the common room, the myth of the Sitting Bull, the rationalization of the fact that for an ascendant class, as such, the point of a university education was in its social contacts rather than in its infellectual training. Its reappearance in our day is part of the general confusion among students about whether they want to be a privi-leged class or an intellectual proletariat.

What seems not to have been noticed is the fact that there is really no such thing as "dialogue." Just as some children try to behave like the heroes and heroines in the stories they read, so dialogue is a literary convention taken to be a fact of life. The literary convention comes from Plato, and we notice how clearly aware Plato is of the fact that unstructured discussion is a collection of solipsistic monologues. The etymology of the word symposium points to the fact that the presence of liquor is necessary to individual bewilderments, frustrations, disillumake the members of such a group believe in their own wit.

Nothing happens in Plato until one person, generally Socrates, assumes control of the argument and the contributions of the others are largely reduced to punctuation. This means, not, that dialogue has turned into monologue or democracy into dictatorship, but that Sperates has discovered a dialectic, and has committed himself to following it wherever it may lead. From there on, Socrates and his listeners are united; in a common vision of something supreme over, both.

Education can take place only where there is communication, which means the conveying of information from A to B, or a discussion united by the presence of a specific subject. Such dis-cussion is educational in proportion as it is structured. This takes us back to the principle that everything connected with the university, with education, and with knowledge, must be structured and continuous. Until this is grasped, there can be no question of "learning to think for oneself."

What is it, then, that the more restless and impatient students, of our time are trying to break through their university training to get? I suggested earlier that they are seeking guidance to the existential questions which have largely overwhelmed what confidence they ever had in the discipline of thought. In other words, their quest is a religious one, and they are looking for answers to religious questions that the univer-sity, qua university, cannot answer. I do not mean by this that such students should be sent to the churches: the number of people there who can deal with their questions is no greater than it is in the universities, and they start from pos-Itulates that relatively few students accept,

The scholar can only deal with these questions as a person, not as a scholar, but no one who would turn away a serious student on the ground that these questions were out of his field deserves the fitle of teacher. The professor in our day is in the same position as the modern doctor who has to try to cure Weltschmerz as well as bellyaches.

Nothing seems less likely today than a return to the introspection of the Eisenhower decade, yet I cannot help feeling that such a return is just around the corner.

Student unrest is not a genuinely social movement: it has no roots in a specific social injustice, as Negro unrest has. Like the beatniks, who have gone, the hippies, who are on the skids, and the LSD cults, which are breaking up, student unrest is not social but an aggregate of sionments and egotisms.

It takes patience to grant students everything that can be granted in the way of representation on decision-making bodies, and to look, with a friendly eye, on the founding of "free" universities, which, as just said, are really reli-

gious organizations.
The reward of the patience is that students soon come to realize that these things are not what they want, and that, after every possible effort to climb over the walls has failed, there is no avenue of real escape except the open door in front of them.

Page(s) 000041 to / à 000041

is (are) exempted pursuant to est(sont) exemptée(s) en vertu de

the Access to Information Act Loi sur l¿accès à l¿information Protests and Demonstrations re: U.S. Action in Vietnam Ontario PAGE 2

CARDING DATE 09

6.

a copy of the following leaflets, the contents of which pertain to the above mentioned festival. These leaflets are as follows:

(a) VMC letter dated 14 July 1969 which identifies the VMC executive as follows:-

with a

VMC executive as

CARDED - 17.

Executive Secretary

The leaflet further mentions planned activities sponsored by the VMC, namely:

Public meeting on August 8 (no doubt identical to U. of T. E.W.V. meeting)

(iii)

(iv)

(±±)

Festival of the 9th August

August 14 when Prime Minister TRUDEAU will be attending the Canadian National Exhibition

V.M.C. Conference scheduled for the middle of September

(v) A major demonstration slated for the 15th November 1969.

(b) VMC Newsletter dated 21 July 1969 which outlines some of the details of the future plans.

" RCMP : GRC 6886

00110 AUG #769

CONTINUATION SUITE PE C23

RE: OBJET. Protests and Demonstrations res U.S. Action in Vietnam Ontario

4 Aug. 69

CARDING DATE.

INVESTIGATOR'S COMMENTS:

- 8. The above information reveals that the Trotskyists are committed to the success of the August 9th Festival, which indications are is designed to entertain the persons attending the rally while playing down the politics.
- 9. The future activities mentioned are designed to build to a major action for the 15th November much in the same way as was done with the April 1969 action organized by V.M.C.

COMMR. OTT (WITH ATTS. A+B)

6.8.69

(DOCOMENT "A"

SENT TO DIV. RE: P.N's UISIT TO TORGUTO)

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TORONTO DAILY STAR TORONTO, ONT.

ISSUE JUN 9 1969

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And yet even this is not one society repressing another, but a single society that cannot escape from its own bungling. Whatever we most condemn in our society is still a part of ourselves, and we cannot disclaim responsibility for

knowledge, not in faith, and even its relation to social action is indirect. The university is the other pole of society; it represents the freedom which is the only genuine product of

The factics of trying to revolutionize society by harassing and bedevilling the university are the most foolish and frivolous tactics that could possibly be devised. They accomplish nothing of any real social or political significance, and they reflect nothing except the confusion of people who want to be radical but want also to stay attached to a privileged and middle-class group. On the other hand, strengthening the university can do a great deal indirectly in restoring our social vision, because the university shows us, more clearly than any other aspect of society, why it is important to have a social vision



Student radicals and right wingers are all the same

DR. H. NORTHROP FRYE, professor of English at the University of Toronto, giving the convocation address at York University:

There is no future in any kind of social revolt that merely feeds what it is revolting against. Many forms of social action, on the campus and off it, are either purely symbolic or are forms-of private enterprise that show a touching belief in advertising and publicity stunts.

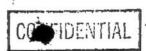
This is not a social attitude likely to transform bourgeois capitalist ideals. The same belief in the magic of public relations is shared even by the psychotics who murder public ligures in order to get publicity for whatever they think of as a cause. I have looked at some examples of the "underground press," and have been interested to see how it operates as a kind of experimental farm for Madison Avenue. It talks up the drug cults and the clothing business learns how to sell psychedelic dresses; it features pornography and advertising learns from it where to place its emphasis.

And I have been rather shocked to see how cynically student unrest has been fostered and encouraged by the news media: Revolution is commercially profitable if you know how to stay out of it. If you don't, you're much more likely to be an exploited worker than a free spirit.

At Berkeley, one sees clearly how the supporters of ? Governor Reagan and the supporters of SDS are the same kind of people. The radical talks about the thoughts of Chairman Mao, not because he is really so impressed by those thoughts but because he cannot endure the notion of thought apart from dictatorial power. The John Bircher uses slightly different formulas to mean the same thing. In the past week I have seen, and heard about, the most incredible acts of police brutality and stupidity against the students.

CARDING L. 1. 59-6-69 JUN 2 0 1969 NEW MAIT.

JUN 25 1969 - I RECORDS



TORONTO DAILY STAR TORONTO, ONT. ISSUE ... MAY 7 1969



Full-time agitators blamed for unrest

WOLFVILLE, N.S. (CP) — Dr. Northrup Frye, a University of Toronto professor, said yesterday that full-time agitators are behind the constant demonstrations on university comstrations on university campuses.

Frye, addressing the annual convocation of Acadia University, said he felt the demonstrations would stop as suddenly as they began, with nothing much accomplished and nothing perma-

nently changed.
"A number of black study programs will be started, a good many students will be

....

sitting on a lot of new com-mittees and boards."

Frye said he had just re-turned from the University of California campusat Berkeley, where things were quiet this term.

"Naturally this is a source of great irritation to the Students for a Demo-cratic Society, who are looking for some issues to stir, things up again. The most hopeful. . was a so-cial science professor who had written an article that they might get away with calling them racist so they can demand he get fired."



ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE - GENDARMERIE ROYALE DU CANADA DIVISION OTHER FILE REFERENCES: $^{11}A^{11}$ SUB-DIVISION - SOUS-DIVISION DETACHMENT - DÉTACHEMENT OTTAWA S. I. B. PE: OBJET: Alexander Defence Committee /TORONTO, Ontario INFORMATION: supplied material (attachment #1) which contains 105 pages of news/bulletins and circulars regarding the Alexander Defence Committee. INVESTIGATOR'S CONMENTS: The material contained in attachment #1 is self-explanatory and is appended hereto. No copies are kept at this point. Sgt. R. K. R. Cst. THE COMMISSIONER, OTTAWA Information evaluated as believed true. Attachment #1 is appended in single copy. There is a good possibility that "0" Division has alread supplied most of this material. Attachment #1 is appended Nutt) S/Insp. OTTAWA 7-5-69 Reviewed N 2 1969 S - I RECORDS 000047 Duing the trial, over 5,500 pceple in West Germany sent a petition to U.N. Secretary U. Thant, requesting him to bring this terror trial to the attention of the Usited Mations Organization and the public of the whole world."

Signatories to the appeal included the leadership of four general students' unions and the leadership of the Liberals, Christian Democrats, Social Democrats and Socialist student organizations.

One hundred and twenty nine university professors, three church leaders, eight members of parliament and many union executives were included among the signatories. The Evangelical, Catholic and Jewish student religious unions also supported the appeal.

printed by valuntary labor

THE ALEXANDER DEFENCE COMMITTEE Box 824, Station F, Toronto. Ontario

"The South African tyranay must be continually opposed and I urge you and to support the efforts on behilf of Dr. Alexander and his colleagues."

BERTRAND RUSSELL

The Alexander Defence Committee

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West Germany, Britain and other countries. of The Alexander Defence Committees of the United States, of South Africa. to the defence of the victims of the savage Apartheid laws Freedom-lovers throughout the world are rallying Thus Canada joins its efforts to those

eleven accused in March 1965. an Supreme Court heard and dismissed an appeal by and held five months in solitary confinement, without charliberatory ideas. Their sentence: ten to five years in ing against Apartheid and reading books feared for their crize - not any overt act; but discussing ways of strugglges. They were convicted under the Sabotage Act; their Concentration camp. After a year's delay the South Africjail and for the seven men the horrors of Robben Island his country after winning academic honours in West Germany In 1963 he with ten other young men and women was seized Apartheid savegery. He is a young teacher who returned to The case of Dr. Neville Alexander highlights

ana, also of the U.M., a lawyer who has defended many will continue also to aid their dependents. up the fight to free Dr. Alexander and his colleagues. They of the arrest of Leo Sihlali, a veteran resister in the people charged under the Sabotage Act. The Alexander Comm-Unity Movement for full democratic rights, and of L. Mtshizfence Committees have declared their determination to keep ization under Apartheid laws continues. News comes to us ittees have agreed to undertake their defence. The United States and the British Alexander De-But victim-

The South African government tries to stifle

> maintain a reign of terror. Those who love freedom and their families sustained. and human destruction. Those valiant men and women cannot afford to be blind to such evidences of tyranny every voice of protest against the offresolon inwho protest must be defended, their struggle supported fifths of the population, and day and night the police flicted on the Non-White peoples, who comprise four-

STATEMENT OF ADES

1. To publicize as widely as possible the case of Dr. Meville Alexander and his colleagues.

other political prisoners in South Africa and aid for their dependents as long as they should require it. To provide funds for the defence also of

to enforce these policies. erties resulting from the attempt by the government rice and on the destruction of civil and political libinion on the inhuman Apartheid policies of South Af-Through such cases, to fecus public op-

such political prisoners. ible to call for the release of Dr. Alexander and all To organize such action as may be poss-

ell organizations which aim to eliminate racism Apartheid. To co-operate as closely as possible with

and moral help for the oppressed Alexander Defence Committee and are looking for raising funds. In your generosity lies both material sponsors. We are sure you understand the urgency of We are in the process of forming a Canadian

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE - GENDARMERIE ROYALE DU CANADA C 237 REV. 1-4-66 OTHER FILE REFERENCES: REF. AUTRES DOSSIERS: DATE RCMP FILE REFERENCES 11011 16 69 Jan. CODE 90 SUB-DIVISION . SOUS-DIVISION DETACHMENT - DÉTACHEMENT TORONTO S.I.B. RE: OBJET University of Toronto Toronto, Ontario INFORMATION: 1. As a result of an examination of faculty and staff at the University of Toronto, we have compiled the following list of those staff members on whom we maintain files or references. These individuals are listed according to the faculty or department with which they are associated and where there is no file number, a resume of the crossreferences appears: ADMINISTRATION: E E E 000050 APR 8 1969

PAGE 16

RE: OBJET:

University of Toronto Toronto, Ontario CARDING DATE Jan. 69

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INVESTIGATOR'S COMMENTS:

- The foregoing has been compiled to illustrate which departments at the University of Toronto are of particular interest. Moreover, this list should be fairly comprehensive, however, we have not included names of many of those individuals on whom only one cross-reference exists. In this connection for example, many names contained on file (Faculty Committee to End the War in Viet Nam) have been omitted in order to isolate this list to those persons who have displayed more than a casual interest in the field covered by key sector.
- 3. This list is submitted for information and assessment purposes and amendments will be made when necessary.

I.ST

TORONTO S.I.B. 16-1-69 CARDING DATE

SECRET

Re: University of Toronto Toronto, Ontario

The Commissioner, Ottawa

FORWARDED.

2. list: The following names have been added to this

GERMAN:

Chairman and Professor

SOCIAL WORK:

Professor

Could the appropriate files please be opened on persons listed above on whom we maintain local files, or on whom we have references, and could we please be provided with the extracts for our files. Although the above list is by no means complete, it does cover the majority of those persons who should be included.

4. We have placed a copy of this report on file Re: Education - List of Persons Employed - Ontario,

S.V.I.

TORONTO 21-1-69 (C.S. Hogg) Supt. officer 1/c S.I.B.

VANCOUVER SUN VANCOUVER, B.C. Issue of DEC 14 1968

Carding date. 050/14 1968

Our Permanent Revolution

From a speech by NORTHROP FRYE at a recent symposium on the ethics of change held at Queen's University, Kingston. Dr. Frye is one of Canada's leading scholars and literary critics.

Such slogans as "never trust anyone over 30," even when stolen from Bernard Shaw, do not seem to me very cogent.

The conflict of generations is clearly protions. The aging have the fear of seeming to be no longer young in spirit that is one of the normal hazards of aging; the young the fear of the shadows of their own future selves, when they will inevitably be more committed to society.

In my own student days in the 1930s, the depression was the central social fact and most radical students were sympathetic to Marxism as then interpreted by Stalinism.

The Marxist radical of the 1930s accepted the work ethic as completely as any capitalist, at he sought solidarity with the working

NORTHROP FRYE

class, as he defined it. All his efforts were focused on the moment of takeover, the point at which the political and economic structure would pass from bourgeois into working class

hands.

The position of the "new left" today is very different. The typical radical of today does not think of himself as primarily a "worker." He reflects rather the disillusionment of a consumer-directed economy, the so-called affluent

From this point of view, the looter who takes advantage of a race riot to steal a color television set is a square and outmoded revo-

Perhaps we should drop the metaphors of left and right wing, in a situation where we no

longer have a conception of two parts of sociin a final struggle for power.

Radicals of today are still influenced by the metaphors of takeover, of which the phrase "student power" is one. But the context has changed. We should think rather of a single society, with a conservative majority and a number of radical groups embedded in it and trying to transform it from within,

Values Differ

The sims and values of the conservative majority are not necessarily obscurantist, but are simply different. The cpithet "conformist" is a double-edged one, for no social groups show more rigid patterns of conformity than nonconformist groups.

There is a strong feeling that it is the de-mocracies of America and Western Europe that are most amenable to radical change today. If this is true, it is so only because the essential dynamic of the conservative majority in the democracies is also nonvolent, forming the main body of a society mature and flexible enough to contain a good deal of organized opposition, including strikes.

This implies that the first principle of the contest between radicals and conservatives in the democracies is not the priciple of even-

the democracies is not the priciple of even-tual struggle for power, but the priciple of

coexistence.
Clearly, the one thing that would put an end to all hope for genuine social advance in our society would be the growth of conservative violence: the effort, with the aid of a hysterical police force, to trample down all protest into that state of uneasy quiescence under terror, which is what George Wallace means by law and order.

The real radical dynamic of our time, then, is not directed toward a once-for-all revolution which will transfer power from one class to another and then move on to a classless goat It is rather a dynamic of permanent revolution, a dialogue of society engaged in a continuous critique of its order and its assumptions.

Because of the central position it gives to the emotional and imaginative elements in radicalism, it can enlist those who are radical in other than political areas, especially the artists.

Rude Awakening

In the radicalism of 30 years ago, the great distillusionment was the loss of belief in the moral superiority of the Soviet Union to the

poursed superiority of the Soviet Union to the bourged's world.

The corresponding illusion of our own time is the belief in the possibility of achieving a moral superiority to society by withdrawing from it and its values, contemplating it from without as something alien, or, in the fashionable metaphor, "sick."

When I sell it an illusion I am not denying

When I call it an illusion, I am not denying

FEU 11 1969 I BACOADS FEB. 7- 1964 em p.1

VANCOUVER SUN VANCOUVER, B.C. Issue of ... DEC 14 1968

Carding date

Weaver. Wall Street Journal; "Can't you finish your studies in business administration and then relate to humanity on the side or something?"

the possibility of human renewal. I am distinguishing between trying to preserve integrity, which is a genuine moral problem, and trying to preserve innocence, which is not one. It is easier to believe that a society that has been "sick" for thousands of years will get well immediately than to believe that we shall come to an immediate agreement on what constitutes health.

The ethics of change can only be based on a paradoxical union of participation and detachment. We belong to something before we are anything, and what we belong to is a mixture of good and bad.

At present, students come to university demanding a greater degree of participation in its affairs, including its decisions. Given the conditions of our time, no reasonable person is likely to deny that this is a normal and healthy demand. But to participate in anything in human society means entering into a common bond of guilt, of guilt and of inevitable compromise.

We Accept Guilt

I am not saying that we accept the evils of what we join. I am saying that whatever we join contains evils, and that what we accept is the guilt of belonging to it.

The "commitment" and "engagement" we hear so much about are the preconditions of action, but they are not sufficient virtues, if they are virtues at all they are virtues at all.

Commitment in itself is uncritical and humorless - humorless because it is too busy rationalizing everything in what it belongs to to see the absurd side of it.

We need also the opposition of detachment, which starts with a moral judgment on the social institution that one is in. I do not mean the token detachment of the opposition in a two-party political system, but a genuine detachment of attitude, one that keeps on saying: This, even if necessary, is still wrong; this, even if logical, is still abourd.

this, even if logical, is still absurd.

In revolutionary, times, however, what detachment is likely to do is to set up an alternative institution, which will of course also demand commitment. When this is set up in hostility to its conservative rival, that hostility is built into it, and so the commitment it calls for is of a more intense kind, more eager to rationalize, more impatient of having anomalies or absurdities in itself pointed out, less tolerant of dissent. less tolerant of dissent.

Thus a revolutionary detachment from society may cancel itself out by a total comdetachment .from mitment to another form of society, so that, instead of getting more tolerance, we eventually get less.

We notice that educational experiments set up as part of a student protest often turn out to be more doctrinaire and narrow-minded than what they attempt to supersede, the fetishism of degrees and credits being felishism of degrees and credits being replaced by the counter fetishism of "relevance."

No Toleration

A New York friend of mine tells me of a poster advertising a student-organized seminar in contemporary literature, set up as part of the Columbia demonstration, and ending with the statement: "Spokesmen of the so-called new criticism will not be tolerated."

The end of commitment is the community; and commitment is the community; and commitment is what used to be called loyalty. Traditionally, loyalty is the acceptance of an external social authority, as embodied in nation or church or party or parents. It contains an uncritical element (e.g., "My country right or wrong"). It seems clear that the sense of the rightness of this kind of loyalty is disappearing. disappearing.

disappearing.

If the end of commitment is the community, the end of detachment is the individual.

This is not an antithesis. The mature individual is mature only because he has reached a kind of social adjustment.

The notion that individual freedom demands the destruction of all social arguments are recurred.

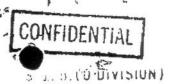
the destruction of all social order recurs in anarchist thought, but with much the same "by and by" feeling that the Christian has for the end of the world or the Communist for the withering away of the state.

A Fulfilling Authority

chalked up on London walls, do not seem to me any improvement on the "freedom is slav-cry" slogan of the police state in 1984 317-317. Such axioms as "anarchy is order," recently cry" slogan of the police state in 1984. We still need loyalty to something with enough authority to form a community, but it must be a free authority, something that fulfills and does not diminish the individual.

Such an authority can ultimately only be the kind of authority that education embodies. The authority of the logical argument, the repetiable experiment, the established fact, the compelling work of art, is the only authority that exects no bows or salutes.

It is not sacrosanct, for what is true today may be inadequately true tomorrow, but it is what holds society together for today.



TORONTO DAILY STAR TORONTO, ONT.

ISSUE SEP 1 9 1989

CARLEIU J. F.

SEP JU 8 31 AH '68

Northrop Frye says:

Student protest...has shallow roots'

believes the current wave of student unrest ptively short-lived. He outlined his reasoning to Canadian school superintendents and inspectors Tuesday. Prof. Frye teaches at Victoria College at University of

By Prof. NORTHROP FRYE

I would like to start with a fairly concrete situation, and one which is being exploited ad nauseam in the news; that is the question of what is euphemistically called student unrest in the universities and which impresses some people as being, rather, a kind of cult of bumptiousness. The student unrest is, of course, partly kept alive by the mass media, in pursuit of their general relieve of mashing the transfer. eral policy of making up the news and of going into a trance whenever they hear the word controver-

Students are instinctively docile, but this time they appear to be docile in relation to other things than the university itself. And in this situation the staff attitude is very confused. Every university teacher worth his salt has had a great affection for his students, although he has, if he has a social conscience, always been very vigilant against threats to academic freedom, and it has, in my experience, never occured to any univer-sity teacher that the threat to academic freedom might conceivably

come from the student body itself.
So the staff is confused. Those who take the side of the student who take the side of the student include a great many earnest and did the great many earnest and did the great many earnest and great emphasize the genuinely the emphasize the great expension of the student property who feel that they can, by fishing in these troubled waters, et a shorter cut to public attention

get a shorter cut to public attention than is afforded by scholarship.

The author of a recent article on The Student as Nigger is clearly one of those and I think that the students have been making a misstudents have been making a misake to regard such writers as

There are many complaints about the process of taking down notes from a lecture, and then, in the stock phrase, "regurgitating" these lecture notes on the examination. But this process, whatever its limitations, still does not prevent the student from thinking for himself, even about his lecture notes.

Cuts off thought

On the other hand, the regurgitation of the cliches and the slogans and the half truths of social activism does tend to cut off free and flexible thought and the process of re-examining one's own assumptions.

At the same time the movement is an important one and we have to try to look into its causes with some care.

Naturally one thinks first of all of the general frustration with a society in which the world's greatest democracy, the country which is hound to lead the democracies of the world, can only offer us Nixon, Humphrey and Wallace as choices

for their chief executive.

There was a time, back in the 1950s—it seems an eternity ago now when everybody was complaining about the apathy of students and I can remember a girl saying to me once then, with exasperation in her voice, "But what do they want us to get excited about?"

Well, of course, students are now being told on all sides what they ought to get excited about, but the real cause, I think, is of a rather different kind. We come closer to it when we realize what a loss of commitment there has been to the economic goals of society, and how the whole process of developing a professional or business career has been questioned in its moral basis way it was not questioned,

even in my own student days, when there was a very lively and highly organized Marxist group on the campus.

This means that the so-called New Left is by no means the same as the old Marxist Left, as is clear from all the newspaper reports of student protest movements in Columbia, Paris and elsewhere. The old Marxist Left accepted the work ethic quite as completely as Henry Ford, and it is the work ethic itself that is now being attacked and ridiculed.

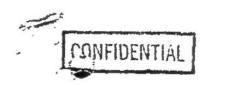
Again, the modern leftist student, if he is protesting against Negro segregation or the Viet Nam war, does not think of those things as a Marxist would do, as merely by products of a class struggle. He products of a class struggle. He sees rather the emotions and prejudices involved in these issues as primary and as the real target to be fought.

Consequently, the new protest movement i: anarchist, rather than Communist, and it is much more deeply concerned with the imagina-tive and the emotional and it raises ever more directly the question of the vision of society which one should have here and now. . .

The new movement of social protest is much more concerned, as the 19th century anarchists were concerned, with goals of direct ac-tion, and their attitudes were much harder to argue with. It is no good even calling them absurd, because 2 1968 absurd is also an in-group word

But I think that the real cause if CORDS to be sought rather in the history of education as it has developed in this country and our Western civili zation, over the last century. As universal education came to be regarded as more and more the nec-essary condition of a civilized and democratic society, naturally a

196p



TORONTO BITTY STAR TORONTO, CHT. 1 9 1968

great many more people of professional competence came to volved with education, and it was soon realized that, in order to teach, one needed rather more equipment than merely a Latin grammar and a teste for sadism.

And in this process, of course, while the busis of elementary education remained in theory accessible to everyone, the pyramid tended to become more selective as it went up, and in, say, the 20s of this century, the universities were still regarded, very largely, as middle class playgrounds.

This meant of course, that the institution of the university could hardly be questioned by students. The psychological effect of the New University, the sense of universities as something in process, was almost unknown to students of my own generation during the depres-

Then came various crises, of which perhaps the most obvious one, from the newspapers' point of view, was the reaction to the Sputnik in 1957, when a sense of the importance of education in society suddenly became strongly and emphatically dramatized.

What we did not notice, all through this period, was that, by treating students with so much affection and creating the kind of community that we had been mak-ing out of the universities, we had also been making, unconsciously, a proletariat out of the student body. A proletariat, in the Marxist sense. is a group of people excluded from the benefits of society, to which their efforts entitle them. We were shouldering students with privi-leges, and yet, at the same time, carefully excluding them from the general process of adult society.

And students, not being fools, drew an obvious inference from the reaction to the Sputnik and other such developments and they said, "Well, if we are students, then we must be fully participating in society, simply by being students. And, if so, why are we being excluded from society and from its removal. from society and from its responsi-bilities?"

This meant of course the decline, to the point of collapse, of the conception of education as a preparing for life. The present day undergrad-uate no longer believes that he is spending four years of college sit-ting around waiting for something more important to happen to him.

He realizes that he is in just as real a world at college as he is eve going to be and if he is an intelligent student, he also realizes that the educational process is never finished and that his teachers are, of course, students too, assuming that a student is a person who does not know enough about a subject and wants to know more.

Rituals of society

Along with this decline of the notion of preparatory education, goes the decline of what I might call initiatory education, that is the aspect of education that has to do with learning the rituals of society.

This is a matter of great importance when you have an elite and in, for example, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge during the 18th and 19th centuries, the process of learning certain social rituals, although it was not featured on the curriculum, nevertheless was very important part of the whole public school and university proc-

In our own society where the conception of a governing elite recruit-ed from a certain class of society is so sharply and radically questioned, it is obvious that this conception of education has collapsed as, in part, has initiation into social rituals. Other conceptions of education have to take its place.

! have perhaps already indicated that I feel that the movement of student protest has rather shallow social roots, and does not have a very long-time career ahead of it.

The analogy toward student pro-test is not anything like the Negro movement or anything genuinely rooted in long-standing social injus-tices. The analogy is rather to the feminist revolution of about 50 years ago, when women agitated for the

It was widely predicted that when the women got the yote, the demo-

cratic machinery would be cleaned up, and when all the votes of that pure and noble sex were dumped on the electoral market, corrupt political machines and ward-heelers and things of that kind would disappear. Nothing of the sort happened and yet if I had been active then I think I should have supported votes for women on grounds of general human fairness and on the fact that it is silly to create unnecessary proletariats in society.

Whenever you have a proletariat in society, you always have, sooner or later, a revolutionary situation. It is similar, I think, with student protest in the universities.

Acres 1 Sugar

. Student representation on univer-sity bodies is not difficult to arrange, but I think that, as with the women's vote, it will make very little difference in practice. Cer-tainly I hope that it will make no difference in practice.

And yet I think that I should support the movement, again on general grounds of fairness. I think too that 'the situation between teacher and student will be re-es-tablished, perhaps with a greater frankness on both sides.

There is at present a great deal of prejudice against the teaching lecture as a form of education on the grounds that it suggests an acfive teacher and a passive student. There is correspondingly a great development of the mystique of the seminar in which the myth of a fully participating and articulate student occupies a prominent place. But I think that in a very short time the teaching lecture will re-es-tablish itself, in the seminar and outside it, as the normal method of instruction in a university.

Again, when relations are re-es-tablished on the basis of greater frankness, it will not be necessary for the teaching staff or the admin-istrative staff to pretend out of pol-iteness that students are more mature than they ought to be. I have known a good many mature stu-dents, who were as undergraduates exactly what they were going to be 40 years later, and a most depressing lot they were.

If we examine the curve of student protest from Berkeley to Columbia, one can see how it has worked itself out. The demonstration at Berkeley was carried through by Grade A students almost entirely and the staff support behind it was overwhelming.

But by the time we reach Columbia we have professional organizers brought in from outside, we have a very sharp division in the student body itself, an equally sharp divi-

sion in the staff, and a number of

social issues raised which are perpheral to university affairs.

I see a good deal of danger in this, of hardening the cleavage between the protesting students and the kind of student who has social goals which may be conventional, but which are still legitimate.

And it seems to me that the uni-And it seems to me that the university is rapidly ceasing to be come their real target of social protest, and the protest is actually moving out of the university into other social areas.

The university is, of course, a very good place in which to carry out social protest, because it is a flexible and tolerant place, and oc-



cupationally disposed to argument. And as the private said when he saluted the sergeant-major, "You'll do to practise on."...

Recently there was an Interview printed in the Varsity between the editor of the Varsity and President Claude Bissell. The editor was, of course, the author of the article and although he was clearly trying to give himself the best lines his success was not unequivocal. After a more than usually incoherent remark about authority President Bissell finally said, "What do you mean by Authority?" and the student said "Authority is other people telling me what I have to do."

Unrestrictive

Now I can understand that this should be the conception of authority held by someone whose habitual reactions are still clearly those of an adolescent, but neither President Bissell nor any other responsible officer of the university is fool enough to think in terms of an Institution, which has to be kept running in a working order without regard to the human lives concerned in it.

What he wanted, of course, was simply unrestrictive electives to study whatever interested him, and the answer to that is that interest is not enough for an educational process.

That is, there are many things that are interesting, many things which are profitable, but which are nevertheless not 'educational. Teach-ins, for example, are entertainment of a very high quality but they are not a form of education. We cannot have education without incessant repetition and practice, and drill, and going over the same things over and over until they become automatic responses.

The kind of authority that the university is interested in is the authority which is inherent in the subject being studied. The authority of the fruitful hypothesis as opposed to the crack-pot notion: the authority of the great imaginative classic as contrasted with the mediocre or the merely sensational.

Authority of this kind is not a limitation of freedom, it is merely the completion of freedom, and every subject studied in the university or elsewhere is a structure to be entered into, and if the university insists on certain compulsory prerequisite courses, the compulsion is not the compulsion of a truant officer, it is simply the compulsion inherent in the subject itself.

Same process

In the present climate of opinion it may sound insufferably smug that a student's first duty is to study but if I do say so I am simply applying to students the same principles that I would apply to any other member of the university, the other members also being students. Whenever a person is considered for a senior administrative appointment at a university, the question is always asked, "How good a scholar is he?" because if he has no idea what scholarship is he has no idea what a university is either, and consequently the administrative staff, the teaching staff and the undergraduate body, are all involved in the same process.



PROFESSOR NORTHROP FRYE says he is in favor of present student protest movement, on grounds of fairness. But he thinks student representation on university bodies will make very little difference in profite 58

TORONTO TELEGRAM TORONTO, ONT.

Issue of SEP 1 7 1968

OCT 2 3 43 PM 168

OCT 3 1968

Student protest like feminists

University of Toronto shallow social roots. In English Professor Nonthrop Frye said. "It is not anything like the Negro movement or anything genuinely rooted in long-standing social injustices." student protest movement and compared it to the now and compared it is a six defunct feminist movement at the turn of the century.

Dr. Frye spoke to the convention of Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors at the Royal York, About 800 attended.

dent protest has rather

University of Toronto shallow social roots." Dr.

of 50 years ago when it was widely predicted that giving women the vote would clean up political corrup-

e Royal York, About 800 tion.

ttended.

"The movement of stu-pened," Dr. Frye said. He pened, protest has rather predicted similarly that its protest has rather predicted similarly that the protest has rather predicted similarly that the protest has rather prot wouldn't make much difference if students were given more representation in uni-

versity government.
However, he said, he was forced to support the student movement "on general grounds of fairness."

cial injustices. He said a better analogy

was the feminist revolution

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AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

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Thursday, August 1, 1968

lintellectual dishonesty showing

PR. JAMES Endicott, perennial professional protestor of all things American, is heading up a rally in Montreal in October to protest United States involvement in Vietnam. Among the sponsors he's lined up are Rabbi Abraham Feinberg, author Farley Mowat, the University of Toronto's Dr. Northrup Frye and Montreal's Jean-Louis Roux.

It will be a rousing denunciation of United States and its Vietnam policy; no doubt about that.

There will be possibly useful contributions from such brilliant intellectuals as Dr. Frye and some of his colleagues, which may well be carefully studied by the American administration, but most of the verbal activity will come from the kooky, confused, fuzzy pseudo-intellectuals who hang around on the fringes of those who are genuinely priented to political philosophies well left of centre.

It will be an interesting exercise.

It would be even more interesting, however, if it were called sooner and on another subject, which leads us to make a suggestion to Dr. Endicott.

Why doesn't he call his hemispheric conference at once to protest the military threat against Czechoslovakia by the Russian armies, tanks and aircraft now on the most extensive manoeuvres of the post-war years all around the borders of that small country?

There's no doubt what's happening. Czech leaders have modified the Russian version of Communism to include freedom of speech and press, and to allow those improperly imprisoned in

the past to organize themselves to seek justice against their persecutors.

Russian leaders, who have under their control one of the two largest and finest military machines in the world, are so worried about this threat to their future (if Czech communists enjoy freedom of speech and press, Poles, East Germans . . and eventually, Russians . . : will want it too) that they are putting tremendous political and military pressure on the Czechs. Russian tanks may yet roll through Prague as they did in Hungary 12 years ago. If they do, the Czechs are likely to fight, and the consequences are frightening.

Dr. Endicott said the conference would work for a peace "based on the unqualified right of the Vietnamese people to determine their own destiny."

It is strange that he does not seem to think it necessary to work for a peace which would enable the Czechs to enjoy the same right.

Ending the war in Vietnam is a

Surely it is as laudable to work to head off a war, as to work to stop one.

Yet neither Dr. Endicott nor any of his colleagues (to our knowledge) have protested what the Russians are doing, or may do, in Czechoslovakia. They do not picket the Russian Embassy in Ottawa, nor send telegrams of protest to Moscow and of support to Prague.

Why?

We don't know why, but hy our standards their attitudes mark them as being at least intellectually dishonest.

S. I. B. (O DIVISION)
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Issue of . DEC 12 1967

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ir men honored for

Canada has thanked four they received Canada Counth the arts, humanities and somen for outstanding contri- cil Medals Monday night, butlons and cultural Council chairman Jean Mr. Underhill, 78, was deachievement. butions.

achievement.

And Council Chairman Ch scholar H. Northrop Fryc The medals are awarded "Few men have had as joined a select few when annually for achievement in much effect on the attitudes

cial sciences. Mr. Underhill, 78, was described as "an apostle of Canadian liberalism" by Mr. Martineau. He is historian. political theoretician, author

and teacher.
"Few men have had as

of a country," Mr Martiuncommon power and preci-

A native of Toronto, Mr. Underhill was educated at the universities of Oxford tory professor at the University of Saskatchewan up...

til 1927 and U of T from 1927 to 1955.

Quebec City artist Mr.;
Lemieux, 64, has his works represented in numerous architectures because the statement of the s exhibitions abroad and his paintings can be found in private collections in North America and Europe, cluding that of Queen Eliza-

beth, as well as in most Ca-

nadian galleries.

Mr. Frye. 55, born in Stratorooke, Que... and raised in Moncton, N.B., was educated at the University of Toronto and Oxford. He has been on the U of T fac. ulty since 1938,

He has contributed 100

articles and reviews to nu: merous publications. From , · 1947 to 1952 he was literary editor and then editor of the Canadian Forum, In 1958 he received the Lorne Pierce Medal for outstand-ing contributions to Canadinn literature.

Mr. Ferguson, 65, a Toronto native, was educated at the University of Western Ontarit and Cornell's University. Ifo has been teaching history at Western since 1956 following 28 since" 1956 following 28 years on the faculty of New York University.

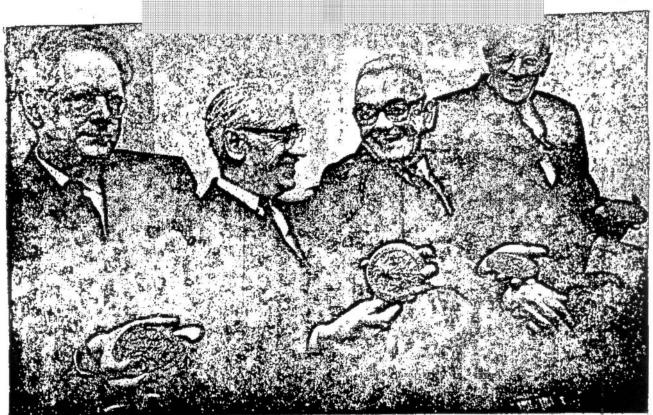
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Issue of DEC 1 2 1967

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-Citizen-UPI staff photo

... Cultural Canadians honored

Outstanding cultural achievements have earned Canada Council medals for four men. The presentations were made Monday to (left to right): scholar H. Northop Frye, historian

Wallace K. Ferguson, painter Jean-Paul Lemieux and historian Frank Underhill. The medals carry with them cash awards of \$2,500.

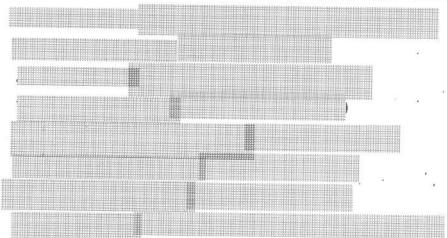
37-18 ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE - GENDARMERIE ROYALE DU CANADA C 237 REV. 1-4-60 RCMP FILE REFERENCES; REF. DOSSIERS GRC: OTHER FILE REFERENCES: 11011 11-9-67 SUB-DIVISION - SOUS-DIVISION Code 90 TORONTO S.I.B. OBJET: University of Toronto Toronto, Ontario INFORMATION: S/Sgt. The following attachments are forwarded as a matter of interest: 1) Page 7 of U. of T. Extension Calendar Liberal Arts 1967-68 which lists a tutorial class captioned "Anatomy of Peace". The course is being offered in collaboration with the Canadian. Peace Research and Education Association The lecturers are as follows: -D.D. EVANS Frederick KNELLMAN Ian LUMSDEN Klaus PRINGSHEIM R.C. PRATT Geo. IGNATIEFF
R. St. J. MacDONALD John HOLMES Charles HANLY David GAUTHIER 2) Page 9 and 10 describing a further tutorial on Civil Liberties in Canada. The lecturer here is Sydney B. LINDEN who is known to be a legal consul for the Ontario Civil Hights Commission 3) Summer Varsity 11-8-67 - a statement by the Executive of the Ontario Union of Students on student participation. 4) Summer Varsity 11-8-67 - article regarding the October 20-22, 1967 Teach-in on "Religion and International Affairs". The International Forum Foundation is again sponsoring it. Qo-chairman will be Jeff ROSE and Mike IGNATIEFF The Honorary Board members are: A.P. ALLEN Northrop FRYE : D.G. OWEN ; Gregory BAUM ; and Tom FAULKNER Frederick NOSSAL 5) List of instructors and students from the University of Toronto Summer Russian Workshop, July # to August 25, 1967. NVESTIGATOR'S COMMENTS: Reviewed minery FEB 9 1968 S - I FECORDS, 000085

PAGE "2"

University of Toronto ANDING DATE Toronto, Ontario 11-9-67

... COMMENTS cont'd

3. We have the following possibly identical references:



May copies of this report be placed on D 944-684-Q-1.

The Commissioner, Ottawa

FORWARDED, together with single copies of the material listed in para. (1). ~

S.U.I.

TORONTO 18-9-67

(C.S. Hogg) Officer 1/c. S.I.B.

The third annual International Teach-In will be held from October 20-22 in Varsity Arena.

The International Forum Foundation, organizers and sponsors of the Teach-In, have chosen as this year's topic "Religion and International Affairs".

The Teach-In proper will be divided into five sessions: the moral dilemma of war, the responses of men of faith to the demand for revolutionary change, religious tolerance and intolerance, the political impact of the response of the political impact of the politi religion, and the morality of internationa political behavior.

In addition to the actual Teach-In weekend, there will be a drama and film festival during the week of October 10-14 plus a series of panel discussions and lectures from October 16-20 to provide background material for the Teach-in sessions. The Sir Robert Falconer Association has

agreed to sponsor a similar program of discussions and informal debates during the two weeks following the Teach-In.

In a departure from previous policy, the Teach-In organizers decided that this year's program would be supervised by two student chairman; Jeff Rose(IV UC) and Michael Ignatieff(III Trin.).

In 1965, the chairman was Prof. Charles Hanly of the department of philosophy. Last year's chairman was Prof. J.M. Robson of Victoria College.

Both Rose and Ignatieff emphatically deny allegations that their position repre-

sents a downgrading of the faculty role in

the Teach-In.

"It was a natural development," says
Rose, "that the students would be able to handle more responsibilities and free the

faculty members from becoming bogged down in details."

"It is not the intention that this should be an entirely student affair," adds Ignatieff.

"The faculty will probably work mainly on the program and executive committees."

and I am hoping the students will remarkings. and I am hoping the students will run things like publicity, the pre-Teach-In program and the accomodation of speakers."

The Teach-In organization is actually a

reflection of the harmonious and effective co-operation between students, faculty, and

social community, Rose says.

As an example, he points to the Honorary
Board of the Teach-In which is composed of Board of the Teach-In which is composed of an administrator (Arts Dean A.D. Allen), three professors (Northrop Frye, Trinfty Provost D.G. Owen, Rev. Gregory Baum of St. Michael's College), a student (SAC President Tom Faulkner), and two members from outside the university community Rabbi Abraham Feinberg, Ref Frederick Nossal of the Telegram).

"The major portion of our volunteer la-bour must be provided by students," he adds. We're always looking for more assis-

ance.

The Teach-In offices are located on the first floor of the SAC Communications Centre, 91 St. George.

By JANE STEINBURGH

The SAC Course Critique program, although slightly behind schedule, will be completed in time for distribution to students later this month. Published in the form of a 64-72 page booklet, the Critique will discuss the merits and faults of the 130 most popular courses offered in the Faculty of Arts (there are over 1600 in all). Estimated cost of the Critique is well below the \$15,000

aliotted in the budget.

The Department of University Affairs has finally changed the regulations governing the operation of POSAP. Loan ceiling is now \$600; any additional funds provided will be in the form of a bursary. The means test has been simplified and the allowance for married students slightly increased. Any student who has completed three years of university is declared financially independent of parental support.

SAC members expressed qualified ap-proval of the changes but insisted the

campaign against the unacceptable aspects as POSAP will continue.

The referendum on U of T membership in CUS, scheduled for January 1968, can be cancelled only by a two-thirds vote of SAC members in the fall. However, some ambigues SAC types claim to have discovered. tious SAC types claim to have discovered

rule which indicates a simple majority vote will suffice.

Despite the refusal of the Varsity Fund to continue its contribution, SAC intends to operate its successful Reception Service for out-of-town students again this fall. Tentative dates: August 28 till Sept. 17.

John Andrews, chief architect for the Student Centre project, has been appointed chairman of the Department of Architecture in the reorganized and enlarged Faculty of Architecture, Urban and Regional Planning, and Landsone Architecture

and Landscape Architecture.

SAC and CUS have completed a personnel exchange. Former SAC Executive Assistant Pat Hembruff has departed to CUS; her successor is Martha Tracey, formerly

her successor is Martha Tracey, formerly CUS associate secretary.

As expected, the weekend meeting ran into quorum and deadline difficulties. There was a bare quorum on Saturday but prudence precluded a count during the Sunday session. By prior decision, the meeting was adjourned at 1 p.m. Sunday. Still the discounter. ed at 1 p.m. Sunday. Still to be discussed at that time were the CUS Structure Report and the minutes of the Summer Executive meet-

After lengthy debate, Council appointed Varsity managing editor Bob Parkins to the \$75 per week position of Varsity general manager.

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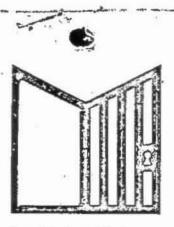
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Centre for Russian and East European Studies and Division of University Extension

SUMMER RUSSIAN WORKSHOP

July 4 to August 25, 1967

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quim Alves

José Godinho Carlos Pinto Dear Friend:

We are addressing this letter to you in the hope that you personally, or the organization you are associated with, will take action to help in a campaign to free five of the most hard-pressed victims of the Salazar regime in Portugal.

As you know the slightest opposition to the undemocratic system or to the conduct of the unpopular war in the Portuguese colonies results in immediate arrest, possible torture and beatings.

The five cases are being focussed on to draw attention to the plight of all political prisoners and illustrate the iniquitous system of "security measures" legislation which permits continued imprisonment, regardless of whether prisoners have served their original sentences. The legislation has come under wide public condemnation throughout the democratic world and from leading jurists and is a mockery of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, co-signed by the government of Portugal.

In Caxias prison and gravely ill is Sofia Ferreira, the woman prisoner who has been kept longest in Salazar's jails. She completed her sentence in November 1965, but is still being held. The male prisoner who has been held longest--16 years, is Jose Rodrigues Vitoriano, a 46-year old cork worker and trade union leader now in prison at Peniche. Others whose release is being sought are Jose Bernandino, a Lisbon student; Varela Gomes, an army captain; and Manuel Serra, a Catholic spokesman and officer in the Merchant Marine.

Concerned Canadians are being asked to direct messages seeking their immediate release to the President of the Republic, Lisbon, Portugal, with copies to Dr. Eduardo Brazao, Ambassador of Portugal, 285 Harmer St., Ottawa,

With warm thanks,

Rev. G. V. Kimball

Chairman

Northrop Frye: 10 ans. avant la néo-critique



Northrop Frye est, sans nul doute. I'un des critiques littéraires de lanque anglaise les plus influents et les plus originaux. Quand son livre, "Anatomy of Criticism" parut il y a 10 ans, il suscita des mouvements divers. Frye faisait son entrée dans la littérature, au moment où le ness criteism américain était encore en force. Erye relançait des "débats non encore terminés et proposait une théorie de la littérature qui frappait par sa force et sa nouveauté. Depuis la parution de ce grand ouvrage, Frye a publie d'autres livres sur Shakespeare, William Blake..., qui sont des illustrations de cette théorie. Le point de sépart de Trye, c'est l'étude des thèmes qui s'étend jusqu'aux mythes archétypaux."

Frye, qui est canadlen, enseigne à Victoria Gollège de l'Université de Toronto, Nombreux sont ses anciens étèves dans cette ville; s'ils ne sont pas ses disciples, 'Ils ne l'enfourent pas moiax d'admiration voire de vénération.

La vision analomique

Frye me recoit dans inn hureau, dans l'un de finduyeaux
édifices qui contintigliement s'aldutent au dampui torontois 34 lui fail partifiex reproches qu'ont na costé de
lui, faire denuis 10 ans. Sa
vision "anatomique de la critique" ne risque-tellé pas de
figes la littenture d'en faire
un corps inanimé que l'on
disseque froidement? N'est-ce
pas la négation de la démarche et de l'égrivair et du critique? La réponse de l'rye est toute prête.

the et de l'egrivair et au critique? La réponte fié frye est toute préte.

Il est essendel de distinquer entre l'expérience littéraire et la critique. Celle-ci a
pour but de comprendre la litlérature en tant que fond de
connaissance. Une telle apprès
clir us peut menacer la livrérature. On n'a jamais dit que
la linguistique a tué le lanna
anne de critique tente et la
house une théorie sur la litté
rature. Sur les personnes litté ;
rature. Celle-ci est infanta able
et la critique est comparativement bien plus limitée. Il y a
deux manières de lire un liure; le lecteur peut souloir

participer à une experience littéraire; il peut nous communiquer ses impressions, mais il ne fait pas occurre le critique que. Par contre, le critique comine un poème ou un roque. Par contre. le critique examine un poème ou un roman comme un médecin examine un patient. Pour le médecin, le patient est un corps, et non pas un ami. De même, le critique n'établit pas avec l'auteur un rapport de dialoque. Il s'agit là d'une convention qu'il faut accepter dans toute, d'aboration conceptuelle.

Le débat des critiques

Je fais rapidement état à M. Frye des controverses et des polémiques qui opposent les tenants de la critique traditionnelle et ceux de la nouvelle critique en France, àinsi que les débats entre les chefs de l'ancienne nouvelle critique et de la nouvelle critique et de la nouvelle nouvelle critique et de la nouvelle nouvelle critique et de la nouvelle critique et de se con la nouvelle critique et de la nouvelle critique et de la nouvelle nouvelle critique et de la nouvelle critique et de la nouvelle nouvelle critique et de la nouvelle critique et de la nouvelle nouvelle critique et de la nouvelle critique et de la nouvelle nouvelle critique et de la nouvelle nouvelle critique et de la nouvelle nouvelle nouvelle nouvelle critique et de la nouvelle nou

nait pas les nouvres des critiques français, même si, ceux ci reprennent certaines de sestithèses, inconsciemment sans doutes avec dix ans de retard.

Le sant nom qu'il me cite est ceiui de Bachelard. It he sait pas si l'intentionalité dort parle la nouvelle critique a un sens qui se rapproche de celui de l'acte intentionnel indiabé dans son peuvre.

J'explique la structure par la cause formelle d'Aristate. Le critique accepte comme un axiome que l'infentione de l'écrivain s'exprine dans son oeuvre et en est la motivation première, il v a deux genres de rapport de structure dans chaque oeuvre littéraire; le po enter est d'ordre principie d'ans chaque oeuvre littéraire dans chaque oeuvre littéraire dans son ensemble. Il existe un autre ordre de rapport que les mêmes thèmes reniennent: cei sont les mythôf et les arché lupes qui donnent, en quelque sarte, son utentionnité à l'exprise de l'intérature dans le l'intérature dans la littérature de l'expende de l'existe un autre ordre de rapport que les mêmes thèmes memennent: cei sont les mythôf et les arché lupes qui donnent en quelque sarte, son utentionnité à l'exprise de l'existe de

que j'ai exmyé de dodo dons l'"Anotonie de la tique".

L'Analomie de la critique ***

- Vous dites, dans l'Anstomie de la Critique', qu'il importe de libérer la littérature de l'Histoire.

- Ce que je veux dire en fait c'est qu'il faut distinguer l'instoire de la littérature de la critique littéraire. Dans chaque occurre, on peut distinguer deux dimensions: celle qu'inscrite dans un monent precis de l'histoire. La deuxième dimension est celle qui explique le sens de l'occurre dans les différentes périodes subséduentes.

Le sens de l'occurre dans les différentes périodes subséduentes.

Le sens de l'occurre dans les différentes périodes subséduentes.

Le sens de l'occurre dans les différentes périodes de l'occurre de developpe à travers les ages. Toute théorie de la littérature doit englober les deux dimensions.

- Pensezvous que la langue représente une structure autonome?

raires françaises ou autres à partir de voire théorie?

- Je eile requemment Vd. lery Mullaris e Rimbaud. Je dois dire que e ne seus

Tes.

—Il y a des thèmes qui reviennent dans la littérature
à des périodes très diverses,
el ce-squait avoir une vision
irréclie de la littérature que
de vouloir identifier une ocuvre par la période historique
où alle est née.

La culture de masse

- Vous dites dans votre li-vre que la culture élimine toutes les classes. Que pen-sez yous de la culture de mas-

se'?.

Dans ma conception de la culture, je suis influence par Mathew Arnold qui affirmoit que la culture conduit à la société sans classe. Cette attitude une semble que i recie que la culture conduit à la société sans classe. Celte attitude me semble aussi vraie aujourd'hui qu'elle le fut hier pour Arnold. Il y a deux attitude me semble aussi vraie aujourd'hui qu'elle le fut hier pour Arnold. Il y a deux attitude me opposées enviers les la arts: une attitude passine. L'attitude active permet une riuntion aux arts et une utilisation des arts, tandis que l'attitude passire tend à provoquer les réactions et les activer par la propagande et, lu publicité. La réposition technologique a augmenté la pussance des deux attitudes.

-Votre collègue à l'université de Toronto, Marshall Mc-Luhan, accorde une grande importance aux techniques nouvelles de communication.

-Le pense que McLuhan ne distingue pas suffisamment entre l'attitude active et l'attitude passive, entre les passibilités nouvelles que la techsique foffre et les déagers ou'elle suscite. Le cutte de MeLuhan prend son port de départ dans l'illusion du progrès, Il donne l'impression que les nedia donneront naissant.

CLIPPING - LE DEVOIR ISSUE DATE 3. Juin 67 CARDING DATE

ce à une nouvelle civilisation. Voilà qui n'est point prouvé. Tout dépendra de la manière dont la société fera usage de : ces média.

め こいう

La critique moderne

La Critique moderne

Que pensezvous des critiques actuels?

—Plusieurs personnes élablissent un parallèle entre mon oeubre et celle d'autres critiques. Ce parallèlisme n'est pas toujours fondé. On prend pour encquis maintenant certaines ides qui, voici dix ans, lors de la publication de l'Annotomie de la critique", paraissaient révolutionnaires. Je ne souhalte pas avoir des disciples. Je noudrais être utile, Beaucoup de critiques utilissent un théorie des archélypes. Certains, comme Norman Brown, l'élar donnent un seus psychologique; d'autres connie Chomsky, leur donnent une appillation en linguistique. Les écrits de ce dernier me dépassent. Certes, les rapports entre la littérature et la psychologie et l'anthropologie m'intéressent, mais le sujet principal pour moi, c'est la littérature. Il oeuvre théorique que je, tenteral d'écrire pour faire suite à l'Anatomic de la Critique" cherchera à delinir ce sujet total qui englobera non seulement la littera utre, mais aussi la philpsophie, la religion et l'anthropologie. Je n'ai pas encore de titre, ni de définition exacts. C'est à partir du moment où je pour rai délimiter le champ d'étude que je pourrai donner un litre à l'ouvrage. Ce champ est existentiel, mais j'essaie, fai de l'étudier scientifiquement. Il existe une différence entre la pensée poétique et la pensée conceptuelle. Je voudrais découvrir dans quelle mesure la mythe est à la base de la pensée poétique.

🖫 La littérature canadienne

Northron Frye ne s'est nas occupé que de la théorie lit-téraire et de ses applications dans les grandes neuvres de la littérature anglaise. Il s'est occupé de la littérature con-

¢.

temporaine de son pays. Les seules ordvres actuelles qu'il a communices sont celles de ses ses compatriotes. Je lui demande, sit a césayé d'appliquer sa théorie à la littéralure canadienne actuelle.

——Il faut être flexible. Quand j'ai écrit sur les poétes canadiens je les abordais comme si le lecteur n'a pas d'autres poésies à lire. Il y a un antre aspect à mon intérêt pour la littérature canadienne. La poésie nous permet de comprendre notre environnement. Il ne faut pas appliquer à la littérature actuelle une échelle de valeur qui lui soit extéricure. Il ne faut pas la camparer avec la poésie d'un autre pays. Comme vous savez, je ne crois pas à l'applification d'une échelle de ralleurs quelconque en bitérature. L'essaie seulement de comprendre la littérature. Pal'ailleurs, dès que l'on aborde la fittérature contemporaine, il faut prendre pour acquis que l'on ne puisse distinquer ce qui est grand et durable de ce qui ne l'est pas. Tout ce que l'on peut choisir, ce sont-les oeuvres qui nous paraissent plus sérieuses que les autres.

—Avez-vous lu des écrivains canadiens-frânçais!

—Avez-vous lu des écrivains canadiens-frânçais!

—Avez-vous lu des écrivains canadiens-frânçais! paraissent plus serieuses que les autres.

—Avez-vous lu des écrivains canadieus-frânçais?

—Oui, bien sûr, je connais sartout Saint-Denis Garneou et. Aune Hébert. Je quomais bien proins les romanciers aussi bien anglais que français le trouve que les romans continuiens ne sont pas bien écrits.

—Pourtant, veus ne croyez pas que l'on puisse dire qu'une oeuvre suit bien ou mal écrits.

—Vous avez raison. Ce que je reux dire, c'est que je ne découvre pas, dans le roman canadien, une conviction, une puissance. Certes, on peut trouver de grands de Dickens et en Bulzue écrits sans soin et pourtant, et sont des sons je et pourtant et sont des sons je et pourtant, et sont des sons je et pourtant et sons de son

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(i) CORRECT LEGAL N	AME: H. N	orthr	op FRYE		
(ii) PRESENT ADDRESS	: 127 Cli	fton :	Rd., Toron	nto, Ontario	
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H. No	rthrop FRYE reside d at the Universit	s at 127 C	lifto	n Rd., To		n em
prese	nt, he is a lectur	er in Reli	glous	Knowledg	e at Victoria Coll	ege,
Profe	spor of English in	mie Iscal	cy of	arts and	octende.	

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28-3-67

H. Northrop FRYE Toronto, Ontario

until the 1 January 1967, FRYE was Principal of Victoria College, where Jessie JACKSON is employed as secretary to the Principal; however, on that date, he relinquished his position to become the first "University Professor" at the University of Toronto. This is a joint appointment, whereby he will serve the University as a whole, in both an administration and academic capacity. He will continue to be a Professor of English at Victoria College.

3. FRYE's wife's name is Helen Gertrude FRYE and that she was porn on the 6 October 1910.

"Canada's Who's Who", the following information was learned on H.
Northrop FRYE. He is shown as being born on the 14 July 1912, Sherbrook Quebec, the son of Herman Edward FRYE and Catherine Maud FRYE nee HOWARD He married Helen KEMP, the daughter of Stanley H.F. KEMP, on the 24 August 1937. FRYE is shown as having received his higher education as follows:

Victoria College, Toronto - 1933 Emmanual College, Toronto - 1936 Oxford University (England) - M.A.

He returned to Victoria College in 1939 as an English lecturer, and progressed through Assistant Professor 1942, Associate Professor 1947, Professor 1948, Chairman of the Department of English 1952 and Principal Victoria College in 1959.

The check revealed FRYE has held the positions of Literary Editor of Canada Forum between 1947-49 and Editor from 1949-52, is a former Chairman of the English Institute, member of the Executive Council of the Modern Languages Association from 1959-63 and received the Lorne Pierce Medal in 1958, and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada 1961.

INVESTIGATOR'S COMMENTS

A review of indices at this point has revealed that in report dated 1-11-56 re: Independent Mutual Benefit Federation - Canada a Stanley Heber F. KEMP (B.D. 5-5-84) of 205 Fulton Ave., Toronto, had terminated his policy with the Federation. It is believed that this person, which the 1956 Toronto City Directory shows as being a commercial artist, is identical to Stanley H.F. KEMP, father-in-law of the file subject.

 The above indices check has revealed, in addition to the extracts outlined in Headquarters memorandum dated the 2 November 1966,

RE:

SHURET

28-3-67

subject has come to our attention on the following occasions:

- Toronto report dated the 21-2-66.

Toronto report dated 21-3-66, which identified FRYE as having circulated a letter, with others, to be sent to the Canadian Federal Government on the question of Canada's Complicity relative to the War in Vietnam.

- Toronto reports dated the 17 and 31 October 66, wherein subject was identified as being on the Honourary Board of the International Teach-in on China. Our source felt his participation gave the Teach-in a note of credibility.
 - Toronto report 27-10-66, which states FRYE delivered a lecture on "The Educated Imagination" on the CBC Massey Lecture series. Other notables on this series included G.B. MACPHERSON and Paul GOODMAN . Frank UNDERHILL the U.S.A., whose ideas appeal to the "New Lert".
- Two items which appeared in the University of Toronto publication Varsity, dated the 19-10-66 and 13-2-67.
- 9. At the present time, we are unable to ascertain what the initial "H" stands for in FRYE's name.

S.U.I.

The Commissioner, Ottawa

FORWARDED.

S.U.I,

TORONTO 4-4-67

(Q.S. Hogg) Supa. Officer i/c. S.I.B.

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November 2, 1966.

SECRET

TO: The Officer i/c SIB "O" - TORONTO.

Re: H. Northrop FRYE, Toronto, Ontario.

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13-7-66, 1-4-66, 4-3-66, 30-9-65, 24-9-65, 13-8-65, 5-2-64, 18-11-63 and 22-9-60. May we please be supplied with an initial report in due course.

for Director, Security and Intelligence.

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VARSITY
TORONTO, ONT.
ISSUE OF. DCI 19 1966
CARDING DATE.OCT.19 1966

FRYE STUDIES NEW ACADEMIC ROLE

By MARLENE GOLDLIST

Northrop Frye, renowned critic and former principal of Victoria College, has found himself at the fore-tront of a new movement in academic thinking. He has become, at President Bissell's request, the campus', dirst University Professor, in conjunction with his duties as English Professor at Victorial The title "university professor", has puzzled many

fessor" ,has puzzled many people; modelled on the Harrard system, the University Professor is not confined to any one department (or college) but becomes almost a department in himself.

Students may come to learn from him in his special field without being bound by "rules of the department".

However non-Victoria students hoping to be taught by Dr. Frye should note that his primary interest lies in writing. If his duties as University Professor and Viclecturer interfere they will likely be sacrificed to give him more time to write and fulfill his special lecture; commitments.

Dr. Frye seems pleased to dispense with his administrative duties. He notes that it is not extraordinary for a teacher to return from administrative duties and suggests that the American system—rotating the chairmenship of various departments so that each professor serves for a set period—could be tried, here.

The mass of red tape which must be untangled by a professor in a bureaucratic post, says 'Dr. Frye, often leaves him little time to pursue his research—in Dr. Frye's case this is writing.

Although his duties as University Professor begin Jan.
1. Dr. Frye will continue lecturing at Vic and at Graduate School for this academic year. His duties as university professor have still not been defined and his program for 1967-68 is being



Dr. Northrop Frye

formulated.

Dr. Frye says more flexibility must be introduced into the federated system at U of T and feels his appointment could test whether university professorships are a feasible method of co-ordinating and linking the various departments in the colleges, still maintaining the decentralized system of federation,

Because of the expanding nature of the U of T campus, Dr. Frye says, the university professor system (which is most easily adapted to smaller, more centralized universities) may not achieve great success. Although U of T was using Harvard as its model it could not imitate Harvard's system and com-

plications would have to be adealt with as they arose.

However Dr. Frye says he hopes his new duties will enable him to teach undergraduates and graduates so that he will (as he says all teachers should) be easily accessible to his students; they will not be "processed through the multiversity" but will educate themselves in the atmosphere of a more flexible system of co-ordinated colleges.

Dr. Frye does not view himself as a "guinea pig" in testing the system of university professorships but sees the appointment as one of a number of attempts at preserving the cohesion and character of U of T in the face of its rapid growth.



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RCMP 6885 ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED OTHER FILE REFERENCES: DIVISION 17-10-66 "O" SUB-DIVISION CODE: *90* DETACHMENT TORONTO S.I.B. International Teach-in on China. - 1966 To personate. CARDED -INVESTIGATOR'S COMMENTS: 8-11-66 Attached hereto are a number of leaflets and bulletins pertain (WK) ing to the International Teach-in held in Toronto, October 8-16th., 1966. Sgt. (1) Teach-in Bulletin Number One which outlines generally the iTi programme. (2) Bulletin Number two which provides greater detail on the speakers are the pre-teach-in sessions which began Oct. 8th., 1966. Claude T. BISSELL of the U. of T. as Honourary Chairman and President E- John M. ROBSON - Victoria College (U. of T.) Chairman of iTi Committee - The Honourary Board. A.D. ALIAN, Dean of Arts & Science, Prof. of Chemistry, 204 Glengrove Ave., Toronto. Thomas FAULKNER, President of the Students' Administrative Council (S.A.C.) Northrop FRYE was principal of Victoria College is now "Professor of the U. of T." Donald G. IVEY, Principal of New College and Prof. of Physics, 34 Yewfield Cres., Don Mills. E + J. TUZO WILSON Director of Institute of Earth Sciences. (3) Press Release (4 pages) outlining questions to beanswered by the iTi and giving the fourfold sim of the project. . (4) Pre-Conference Programme, (5) Main Programme - China - Co-existence or Containment. conference was set in four sessions: "Inside China Today", 3) "China and the Emerging Nations"
4) "World Response to China.

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International Teach-in on China, 1966

PAGE .

17-10-66

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- (6) Registration Form.
- (7) Strip Card embodying pre-teach-in and sessional topics.
- (8) Form letter from iTi Committee signed by Jeffrey R. ROSE of University College who is the son of Dr. A. ROSE, a Prof. of Sociology.
- (9) Form letter sent out with tickets to the iTi.
- (10) Copies of correspondence dated 7-9-66 and 5-10-66 between the Aufgang Travel Bureau Ltd., 310 College St., Toronto and Mr. G. FEXIMER of the Park Plaza Hotel where the majority of iTi/were billeted. Date of arrival, departure and origin are indicated.

/delegates

2.

- (11-10) Priestleys! lecture.
 - Panel discussions at St. Michael's College.
- (12-10) BENNETT slide showing and lecture.
 - PENN's lecture on Macism.
 - Panel discussion Revolution and China's Student.
- (13-10) Panel discussion of journalists in China.
- (14-10) Slide showing by BISSELL.
- (14-16-10) Sessions one to four inclusive were attended by members of this office. All the live broadcasts of the local Rycrson FM Station, C.J.B.T. were taped by this office. This include some of the pre-session panel discussions intended to provide background for the listeners. Also included are post session comments made by various professors, many of whom are known to us.
- These tapes will be held should Headquarter's research wish to review them as to delivery, phraseology and any prominent or recurring propaganda theme that appears throughout the speeches of China's supporters. It is suggested that a more knowledgeable and careful analysis would be gained. It is felt that a very forceful argument can be put forward as a result of this ITi, that efforts are being made by certain narrow elements within the academic community to exert influence upon the Canadian Government for a change in our foreign policy: particularly respecting our relations with the U.S.A. and in direct reference to our complicity in the Vietnam war and toward our recognition of Red China.
- 4. Ronald McKEE of C.J.R.T. in his opening remarks states "The iTi organizers have been quick to say that it is not the intention of the iTi to pressure any Government into speedy recognition of China

International Teach-in on China. - 1966

PAGE 3

CAAUNG UA12-10-66

or to help in pushing China into a United Nations seat. The 1Ti is intended to be a sober assessment from ALL sides of the Chinese situation, and to shed as much light as possible on the fact of the great enigma that is Communist China. For a total of eighteen hours, we will be bringing you a complete live coverage of the second 1Ti. "Documentary and discussion features have been produced by the B.B.C., Radio-Netherland - The Dutch World Radio Service, Station W.G.B.H. in co-operation with Yale University, the Canadian Red Cross and C.J.O.S. the Radio station of the University of Saskatchewan. These broadcasts, before and between teach-in sessions, will give background on the issue to be discussed."

It is felt that the organizors, as far as we know their identity and proclivities were not in the least interested in an objective academic assessment from ALL sides of the China question. A review of the speakers would belie this stated intention. It should also be pointed out that the committee placed three speakers on each session rather than an even or balanced number of speakers or interpreters of either position. It would appear that the organizers were interested primarily in gaining sympathy for Communist China; internal revolution. It was continually stressed that this was an internal revolution and China has the right to be governed as her people see fit. It was emphasized that at no time during her history has China been anything but a peace loving nation, at no time has there been reason to fear aggression from China and at no time has there been any indication of expansionist policies on the part of Red Chinese Government. Once this premise had been established, the procentainment.

from what can be gathered this year's Teach-in did not have the impact of last years. There was not the advance publicity of last year, nor was there the extreme emotionalism attached to this year's topic. Last year the iTi was put forth as major intellectual confront ation between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. and there was a tremendous amount of one sided anti-American sentiment being expressed at that time. Teach-in's were then the thing in the U.S. and there is a wide segment of the population who are pro-Soviet where the pro-chinese element is rather nominal in comparison.

7. This China iti appeared to begin as a rather objective presentation of the Chinese position with some of the pre-teach-in discussions but it culminated in the heightened emotional appeal of Chester Ronning as Chairman of the Sunday afternoon session. Ronning began by explaining that China's revolution began in the schools and in the teaching community. In fact, one of the first cells was in his class in his father's school and of which Sun, Yat Sen was a member. Ronning was very moved to see so many young people in the audience who were seeking knowledge and who were not willing to accept without question the dictates of their elders or their Government. He hoped the a similar change may be perpetuated by students and the academics in Canada as had occurred in China. He closed by dramatically drawing in the air, the Chinese pictographs meaning "Under Heaven One Family". Ronning conducted himself in an extremely biased manner. He smiled and

International Teach-in on China - 1966.

CARDING JATTO-66

laughed heartily each time MARSHALL was boosed by the audience and ridiculed by MENDELSON, to say nothing of his own remarks of MARSHALL delivery. Let it be made clear however; that MARSHALL was in fact the entome of the arrogant, over confident, over weight cigar smoking American Capitalist or Imperialist. If the organizors had the intention of creating this impression, they could not have made a better choice than MARSHALL.

- 8. It is felt that we will not likely be able to comment further on the organization of the iTi than has already been done
- 9. An additional report will follow upon the completion of our debriefing process.

Cpl.___

The Commissioner, Ottawa.

copy. FORWARDED, together with the noted attachments in single

2. Please advise if your require the tapes noted in para, 3.

S.U.I.

TORONTO 24-10-66

il. thelerson Insp. for

(C.S. Hogg) Supt.

officer 1/c. S.I.B. A.O.D.

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1111	5.	#Charles TAYL	OR For Karl	STERN and Dr.	Henry MORGENTHAL	ER
ρ,	whose	names also appear	as sponsors	oi the Alexand	er Defence Commit	it <mark>ee</mark>
	6.	This report 6 on file	is submitted	further to pa	ra. 22 of report	dated
111.0	ih Vie	tnam, Aug 6th to 9 e copy of the leaf	th, 1966, Mg	ntreal, Quebec). Attached is c	rigina
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-2- September 1st, 1966 CARDING DATE_____

re: THE ALEXANDER DEFENCE COMMITTEE Montreal, Quebec

(Continuation)

THE COMMISSIONER, OTTAWA

1. Information believed true. Attached hereto original leaflets described in para. 1. Please note para. 6. This is also further to report dated 23-8-66, this file.

. S.U.I.

MONTREAL 7-9-66 De Com 5/ hup to

(J.E.M. Barrette) Supt. Officer i/c S.I.S.

DEFEND THE VICTIMS APARTHE ED -OF

17 2

in the US

Carlton Beals Rev. A.B. Cleage, Jr. Dorothy Day Ossie Davis Ruby Dee Jamos Foreman Waldo Frank Maxwell Geismar Y. Vincent Hallinan Horace M. Kallen John O. Killens Sid Lone Rev. A.J. Muste Prof. Reinhold Niebur George Novak Linus Pauling Marc Schleifer Pete Seeger

in England

Frank Allaum, M.P. Isaac Deutscher C.L.R. James . A. McIntyre R. Segal S. Silverman, M.P. Prof. E.A. Thomson Ernie Roberts

in Canada

Pierre Berton Northrope Frye Austin Clarke Gerard Pelletier Prof. Hans Blumenfeld Prof. William Willmott. Babbi A. Feinberg

Frederick Stinson Dr. R. S. Harris Prof. Marcel Rioux Prof. Colwyn Wildiamson Mox Ferguson

E Farley Mowat

C. W. Gonick

Mary Brewin Dr. Henry Morganthalar

E Cherles Taylor T. C. Douglasu Dr. Karl Stern V

E

unlly opposed and I lirge you all to support the offerte on behalf of Dr. Alexander and his iollanguon."

MERTILAND RUNSELL

Freedom-lovers throughout the world are rallying bb to the defence of the victims of the savage Apartheid laws! of South Africa. Thus Canada joins its efforts to those of the Alexander Defense Committees of the United States West Germany, Britain and other countries.

The case of Dr. Neville Alexander highlights. Apartheid savagery. He is a young teacher who returned to his country after winning academic honours in West Germany. In 1963 he with ten other young men and women was seized, and held five months in solitary confinement, without charges. They were convicted under the Sabotage Act; their orime - not any overt act, but discussing ways of struggling against Apartheid and reading books feared for their liberatory ideas. Their sentence: five to ten years in jail and for the seven men the horrors of Robben Concentration camp .- After a year's delay the South African Supreme Court heard and dismissed an appeals by the eleven accused in March 1965. 8 175.35

The United States and the British Alexander Defense Committees have declared their determination to keep up the fight to free Dr. Alexander and his colleagues. They will continue also to aid their dependents. But victim-Fization under Apartheid laws continues. News comes to us; of the arrest of Leo Sihlali, a veteran resister in the Unity Movement for full democratic rights, and of L.Mtshizans, also of the U.M., a lewyer who has defended many people charged under the Sabotage Act. The Alexander Committees have agreed to undertake their defense.

1. The South African government tries to - stifle every voice of protest against the oppression infifths of the population, and day and night the police maintain a reign of terror. Those who love freedom cannot afford to be blind to such evidence of tyronny and human destruction. Those valiant men and women who protest must be defended; their struggle supported and their families sustained.

STATEMENT OF AIMS 1. To publicize as widely as possible the case of Dr. Neville Alexander and his colleagues. .

2. To provide funds for the defence also of other political prisoners in South Africa and a d for their dependents as long as they should require it.

3. Through such cases, to focus public op-inion on the inhuman Apartheid * policies of South Af-, rica and on the destruction of civil and political liberties resulting from the attempt by the government, to enforce these policies. .

4. To organize such action as may be possible to call for the release of Dr. Alexander and all such political prisoners.

5. To comperate as closely as possible with all organisations which sim to eliminate racism . and

"The South African
tyranny must be contin- We have now established a Canadian Alexander Defence Committee: to realize the above aims. We ware sure you understand the urgency of raising funds for this task. In your generosity lies both material and moral help for the oppressed of South Africa. A Liberton

I wish to	con	tribute	\$to_the	Committee
Please so	id my	name to	your mailt	ng list.
Name			******	
AZAMORN'I	0 0			

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Committee: Rivel Route (7 . No . 11/ Dorlon Ouebec

"VARSITY TORONTO, ONT. ISSUE OF SEP. 1 9 1966 SEP 1 9 1966 CARDING DATE.

Northrop Frye becomes 'University Professor'

Dr. Northrop Frye is resigning as principal of Victoria College Jan. 1, to become the first "University Professor" of the University of Toronto.

In announcing the appoint-ment, Dr. Claude Bissell, president of the University of Toronto, said Dr. Frye now would serve the whole University not just Victoria College as a teacher.

Dr. Frye, one of Canada's outstanding literary scholars,

has been associated with the University of To-ronto and Victoria College as student, teacher and ad-

ministrator for 37 years.

'He entered Victoria College as an undergraduate in 1929 and, after graduation, studied theology at Emmanuel College. After ordination in the United Church of Canada he turned to teaching and took his MA at Oxford. In 1936, Dr. Frye became a lecturer at Victoria

College. He became head of the English department and Principal in 1959.

Dr. Frye has lectured at about 100 universities in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States. He has received honorary de-grees from eight universi-

He is the author of several major critical works of which Fearful Symmetry: A Study of William Blake is most highly regarded.

19-9-60

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE RCMP 6885 C 237 REV. 1 - 4 - 65 OTHER FILE REFERENCES: NOISINIO DATE RCMP FILE REFERENCES: "O" 13-7-66 SUB-DIVISION Code 90 DETACHMENT TORONTO S.I.B. RE: Toronto, untario LIL (W.K.) INFORMATION Sgt. has been employed for approximately one (University that of Toronto) Professor H. Northrup Pale 2. advised through Cst. that the file subject is employed as a Secretary to a Professor at Victoria College, 3. og par

CONTINUATION C-RCMP 6886 REV. 1-4-6 PAGE 2 13-7-66 Toronto, Ontario 8. . The following additions and amendments are being made to subject's Form C215: Pages 1 to 3A inclusive: DATE: Delete - 28-7-65 Add - 13-7-66 Question 4 - Add to last entry under the word: To - 1965 Add - University of Toronto - Toronto, Ont. Question 19 -INVESTIGATOR'S COMMENTS 10. The subject's employment has been confirmed and no doubt this position will afford an excellent opportunity to assess persons within the University sphere. S.U.I. D.D. 29-5-67 Cpl.

4 2 °

00010

13-7-66 TORONTO S.I.B.

SLICKET

Re:

Toronto, Ontario

The Commissioner, Ottawa

Information believed true.

2. The necessary amendments have been made to our copy of Form C-215.

S.U.I.

TORONTO 19-7-66 (N.O. Jones) Supt. Officer i/c S.I.B. Page(s) 000111 to / à 000114

is (are) exempted pursuant to est(sont) exemptée(s) en vertu de

the Access to Information Act Loi sur l¿accès à l¿information

UNITY (JEDINSTVO) TORONTO; ONT.

ISSUE OF MAR - 4 1966

A group of Canadian teachers have requested Canada to dissociate herself from the U.S. policy of "genocide" in Vietnam. The demand is included in an "open letter" to Prime Minister Pearson. which is to be handed over to him during the five-day demonstrations in Ottawa (commenced March 2) organized by the Students Union for Peace Action.

Among those who signed the letter listed are the names of

Northrop Fryey Principal, Victoria College, U. of T.;
John F. Robsony teacher of English language,
S.H.E. Clarksony teacher, Political Economy, and
K.W. McNaughty teacher of History, all of the same college;
Professor Donald Willmont,
Professor Chandler Davisy
Professor Melville H. Watkinsy Professor Donald Creighton

It is said that a number of faculty members from the University of British Columbia (Vancouver), Sir George Williams University (Montreal), MacMaster (Hamilton), and the Trent University have also co-signed the above mentioned letter.

CARDED - 32

JUN 21 1986

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000115

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE C 237 REV. 1 - 4 - 65 DIVISION OTHER FILE REFERENCES: 11011 CODE: 90 18-10-65 SUB-DIVISION DETACHMENT TORONTO S. I.B The Alexander Defence Committee, Toronto, Ontario. la (WK) INFORMATION Sgt. of this Branch that on the 2-10-65, the Alexander Defence Committee (A.D.C.) held a film showing at the Museum Theatre University Ave., Toronto, Ontario. Of the 175 people in attendance at this movie, E Reggula MODLICH Erank GORTIN Elkelmy Paustin CLARKE Preston MANGANA 2. The movies began at 8:00 p.m. with the showing of a 45 minute travelogue about Africa. Following this movie, Reggula MODLICH introduced herself as secretary of the A.D.C. She said that she would be leaving the country shortly and therefore, would be resigning her position as secretary. With this in mind, s Frank GORTIN as the person who would be the new Secretary. With this in mind, she introduced GORTIN made a speech which was a brief outline of the purpose of the A.D.C. and also, made an appeal for financial donations. GORTIN then introduced Austin CLARKE as one of the sponsors of the CLARKE made a few comments about the A.D.C. after which the film "Come Back Africa" was shown. Financial donations to the A.D.C. were accepted during the evening. original copies of a leaflet pertaining to the film showing. -- Northpup FRYET and M. PELLETIER Seconde FMax FERGUSON Ltico are listed as A.D.C. sponsors on this leaflet. 17-12-65 CARDED -INVESTIGATOR'S COMMENTS The foregoing is furtherto p.c.r. dated 15-9-65. NOV - 1 1965 000116 RE: 1

PAGE O

DE COM

The Alexander Defence Committee, Toronto, Ontario.

18-10-65

9. Information contained in report dated 13-8-65, this file, indicates that (F.N.U.) PELETTIER , who is described as a leading French Canadian Journalist, is a sponsor of the A.D.C.

· ...

10.

S.U.I.

C.O. "C" Montreal

Information believed true.

- 2. Your attention is invited to para. (9).
- 3. Copies to the Commissioner.

TORONTO 29-10-65

(N.O. Jones) Supt. Officer i/c S.I.B.

The Commissioner, Ottawa

FORWARDED together with a copy of the noted leaflet.

S.U.I.

TORONTO 29-10-65

(N.O. Jones) Supt. Officer 1/c S.I.B.

GOME EES

Explosive documentary on South Africa

- of the scenes gives this story Illumination, shock and intense poignancy...
- TIME: Impressive skill and sensitivity of camera work reveals beauty in the vital faces of the Africans in their sunburst smiles and roars of laughter in the explosive imagination of their dances...

presented by

ALEXANDER DEFENCE COMMITTEE
Sponsors include: Rierre Burton, Northrup Frya, Max Forguson, M. Pelletier

SATURDAY, OCT 2 B P.M \$1.50 admission

THEATRE IN ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

BLOOR AND UNIVERSITY

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	RCMP 6855 ROYAL	CANADIAN MOUNTED POLIC	E c 237
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	RE:	TORONTO S.I.B. Code 90	(S)
	LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTIO	мо	
(DDC) S/Sgt.	INFORMATION		
S/Sgt.	Conference or the Toronto (L.S.A.) was held at 1 Cur Approximately 70 persons about 50 persons were in	pranch of the heague for coolairs mberland Avenue, Toronto, on Sunda attended the all day conference, hattendance at one time as some per The following persons were identif	owever, only sons stayed
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CONTINUATION C-137 REV. 1-4-65

PAGE 8

LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION Toronto, Ontario

30-9-65

League has 12 reliable contacts in the N.D.P., 3 of whom completely take the League's position. It also has a developed and working N.D.P. fraction in the L.S.A. that meets and operates in an organized manner. Last fall, during the Provincial elections, the League got the left caucus started. The League succeeded in raising the level of preconvention discussions for the last Federal N.D.P. Convention and discussed political matters through contacts and leaflets. The Trotskyists intervened in the Federal Convention, formed a Socialist Caucus and can now raise questions from inside the Party, whereas previously they had been forced to work from outside the Party. The questions of a change in leadership in the Party has been placed on the program and in the N.D.Y. the change in leadership is considered an immediate possibility. The Socialist Caucus now gives the Trotskyists a good perspective for vastly increasing the number of contacts that can be met and influenced Further expulsions of Trotskyists from the Party are being considered, however, the League is in a much better position to defend the comrades and it has been proved that expulsions are not effective against the Trotskyist forces and that witch hunts and red-baiting can be effectively handled.

In giving the Anti-War Report, FOSTER stated that this was one area of work that the Trotskyists had not been too effective in This is attributed partly to the sterility of the Anti-War Movement in Toronto, the exclusionist policies of most groups who refuse to have anything to do with the Trotskyists and the sectarian attitude of the various Peace Groups who seem unable to co-operate on united front activities. Ross DOWSON stated that the League was now going to move out in this field of activity and no longer sit back and be a patsy for these other organizations. The League is going to move out boldly as it has been proven that the Trotskyists can carry demonstrations, etc., without the help of other groups. If the other peace groups are going to participate, it will be because the League forces them to do so as it is obvious that the League was just wasting time trying to make concessions to influence the various organizations.

The afternoon session adjourned shortly after 5:30 p.m. for supper and reconvened again at 7:00 p.m., at which time Regula MODLICH gave a report on the Alexander Defense Committee (A.D.C.)

Although not originally scheduled to be given, this report was interjected at the request of MODLICH and with the approval of the Conference. MODLICH stated that the A.D.C. had been formed to assist members of the "Unity Movement"

of the Fourth International (F.I.)

of the Fourth International (F.I.)

cuted by the South African Government. The Committee has had great success in Germany where Alexander is well known, has received broad support in Great Britain and in the United States the Committee succeeded in obtaining the backing of the United Nations which had been a great diplomatic victory. The A.D.C. had it's first meeting in Canada last May when a literary affair was held in the Trotskyist bookstore. Toronto. This meeting was attended by about 50 persons and raised \$55. It is planned to show a film on the 2-10-65 and it is hoped that TABATTA

the head of the Unity Movement, will be present at this affair. MODLICH is the Organizer for the

PAGE 9

LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION Toronto, Ontario

30-9-65

A.D.C., Dick PRINSEP is the Treasurer and very shortly Frank GORTIN, who has assisted in this area, will be made the Secretary. To date 12 sponsors have been obtained for the Committee which include Pierre BURTON and Northrup FRYE

16. In a contribution to the Conference, Mrs. TAYLOR praised the efforts of the Canadian comrades in support of the Unity Movement and made reference to "New Sarka" (Phonetic) as being the headquarters in exile for the Movement.

Ross DOWSON severely criticized the Toronto Branch for the very small effort it had made in regards to the A.D.C. and stated that in the future the Branch must do a great deal more in the way of raising funds for the committee and the printing of publications. John RIDDELL stated that it was obvious from the S.W.P. Convention that the American comrades had made a big issue of the A.D.C. and found it a good opportunity to increase their contacts and work in the campus area.

- 17. In his Educational Report, Cliff ORCHARD briefly outlined the difficulties involved in presenting the educationals over the past year. It was felt that the educationals were considerably disorganized because there had been no overall analysis of the opportunities and problems that faced the Branch. With such an evaluation, the Educational Director for next year would be able to plan the educationals to meet the long term opportunities for the League.
- 18. Irma ORCHARD gave a brief review of the 9 socials held by the Branch in the last 12 months and stated that the next social was planned for the 18-9-65. It was decided by the Branch that it had the ability to hold large socials with live entertainment and efforts will be made to promote more of this type of social. Large, well run socials are considered essential in order to carry out contact work and to demon strate the size and influence of the L.S.A. to other political gnoups. The Branch decided to assign the Social Committee sufficient funds to operate in a more effective manner. In addition to large socials, more effort is to be extended to hold small affairs, possibly in private houses, to attract the older radicals who are sometimes overwhelmed by the youth at social functions.
- Next on the agenda was the Treasurer's Report by Art YOUNG.

 fore, YOUNG prepared a brief report. YOUNG advised that at the last conference a balance was brought forward of about \$91. and at this conference the balance to go forward is \$1181., which was particularly good in view of the fact that the Branch had paid off a loan incurred for election expenses. From October, 1964 to July, 1965 the income had averaged about \$759. and expenses about \$637. The pledges amounted to \$377. per month, the average pledge per comrade being \$7. As some pledges are as high as \$50. per month, it is obvious that some comrades are not pulling their weight. The Branch was now supporting two full time professional revolutionaries and if additional funds could be obtained, there were other comrades who were willing to work as full

RF.

CONTINUATION C-2.37 REV. 1-4-55

PAGE 11

LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION .

30-9-65

Toronto, Ontario

been carried out with the co-operation of the Portuguese comrades and contacts in Newfoundland, had been carried out successfully. This report stated that the authorities were trying to find out the persons responsible for distributing the literature to Portuguese sailors calling for the overthrow of the Salazaar regime.

Next on the agenda was the election of the new Branch Executive, as follows:

Organizor

- Art YOUNG

Social Convener

- Irma ORCHARD

Secretary

- Ruth TATE

Treasurer

- Carson HORN

Executive Committee - Pat MITCHELL .

John STEELE Jim ONYSCHUK Helen OLSON Peter HORBATIUK

Frank GORTIN

Pat MITCHELL stated that she had not wished to be the Organizer for another year because she felt YOUNG would do a better job: MITCHELL advised that she only expected to be working part time in the future so she will be able to work most of the time for the Movement

:25. the L.S.A. has come up with what is probably the strongest and most effective Executive in Canadian history. They can all be counted on for maximum effort and will see that individual comrades are constantly aware of their obligations to the Movement.

26. The Conference was adjourned at approximately 10:00 p.m.

INVESTIGATOR'S COMMENTS

It is requested that copies of this report be placed on the following files:

..12

30-9-65 TORONTO S.I.B.

SECRET |

SECRET

Re: LEAGUE FOR SOCIALIST ACTION Toronto, Ontario

The Commissioner, Ottawa

Information believed true.

It will be noted that although the League is not yet numerically large, the percentage gains in a single year are impressive. Such a trend, if it continues, would present a considerable threat in a relatively short space of time when considering the calibre and dedication of the individuals involved. We are not inclined to underestimate the potential for disruption and agitation the League possesses.

3. Copies of this report are being placed on the files requested in paragraph 29.

S.U.I.

TORONTO 8-10-65

(N.O. Jones) Supt. Officer i/c S.I.B.

30-9-61

Page(s) 000125 to / à 000130

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the Access to Information Act Loi sur l¿accès à l¿information CARUEU - 10 19-3-64 CAMDING DATE

VARSITY Toronto, Ont. 5-2-64

By DAVID BRYCE

Tom Morgan, one of the three Indiana State University students indicted last May and re-indicted in July in the first use of the Indiana Anti-Subversion Act of 1951, is here this week to publicize the case and to raise funds for his defence.

Morgan, Ralph Levitt and James Bingham were three officers of the Bloomington chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance. They organized inceting, attended by 128 students, faculty, and town-speople, at which Leroy MaRae Va national officer of the YSA, advocated the use of violence by Southern Ne-groes if Necessary in their struggle for civil rights.

Morgan is presently free on \$1,000 bail, but faces a prison term of 2-6 years if convicted-The act makes it a crime to "assemble for the purpose of advocating" the overthrow of either the Indiana or United States government by "force, violence, or any unlawful means." The case is believed to be the first in which students have been prosecuted for their political beliefs.

Interviewed by a Varsity reporter, he appeared a quiet, earnest young man. Only 23 years old, he has been apparently matured greatly by his recent experiences.

He was in his last year at 10 until the spring of 1963.

His life was transformed by, the charges laid against hill and his friends, but even more by the "trial by newspaper" which the Monroe County prosecutor, Thomas A. Hoadley, conducted.

Hoadley found fertile ground for his allegations and innuendoes in Bloomington, a former bastion of the 19 - 7. m. 12 John W

in the work of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, and Morgan is on a tour of the continent to publicize the case and to raise funds for the CA.B.S.

The committee has raised in three months approximately \$1,200. Morgan, estimates that \$5,000 - \$10,000 is necded to conduct the defence at the local level. If it is necessary to carry the case to the Supreme Court, as much as \$30,000 would be required.

"While the United States is widely regarded a. the land of the free, it has always been necessary to fight for freedoms," Morgan said. He indicated that although nearly everyone he has talked to has given his support, enough support has not come from the wallet.

Morgan is to speak at New College at 1 p.m. today, and in Rm. 2135 of Sidney Smith Hall Thursday at 4 p.m.

The meeting is sponsored by the Students' Administrative Council, the Student Christian Movement, and the CUCND. The SAC has voted to send \$25 to aid the defence of the Bloomington students.

Nine professors from the University of Toronto have expressed support of the committee, among them Professors Northron Free C. R. Macpherson, and David Quar. Macpherson, and David

vsp Boat TOM MORGAN

Ku Klux Klan, the headquarters of the American Legion, and a city described by professor at IU "typically Neanderthaloid".

All three students were forced to take leave of absence from the university. One is working, another is occupied

fr. 132

ALBANY, Ga. (CUP) - Two Canadians were arrested in a vigil outside Tunner Air Force Base Monday,

VE Mary Suzuki, of Sir George Williams, and Michael New-mun of Burnaby, B. C. were arrested for participating in a vigil protesting the arrest of a group of pacifist marchers last week. The marchers were on a

Quebec-City-to-Cuba march to protest against the settling of international problems (principally the U.S.-Cuba situation) "by bombardments of hot words, mutual intimidations and military build-ups,

Another demonstrator was arrested later at the jail when he argued with officers about the carlier arrests, bringing to 27 the number

of pacifists in the Albany jail. No visitors except lavyers are permitted and on letters are allowed to be mailed. Some messages were smugg-led out on toilet paper.

Miss Suzuki is reported to

be on an indefinite fast.
Police Chief Laurie Prit-

chett has ordered forced feeding of all the marchers. Ray Robinson Jr., 28, an American Negro and exboxer, was on a complete fast for 21 days. In hospital last Wednesday, he gave up the fast 10 be coherent for a psychlatric examination.

He now is back in jail and

back on his fast.

Peter Light, a volunteer at the Montreal Peace Centre, plans to fly to Georgia today and is likely to be spending his 27th birthday in fail. The marchers left Quebec

City last May and hope to reach Guantanamo, Cuba. The arrst was their eighth on the march,

The New York Commistee for Non-Violent Action claims that they were tortured with electric cow prodders last-November by members of the Georgia Investigation Bureau.

In January, the Montreal Peace Centre Personnel and sympathizers demonstrated outside the U.S. Consulate in protest against the alleged torunes.

APR 3 0 1964

000131

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE Security & Intelligence Branch

DIV. FILE NO

Winnipeg, Manitoba,

H. Q. FILE No.

November 18th, 1963.

0900

The Commissioner - RCMP - OTTAWA

AMENDED TO: CO-EXISTENCE: Literature Generally Gen. InformationCo-Existence.

CANADA. - .

I attach a popy of a letter

2. is a well known personality and I understand he is known personally to Commissioner Harvison (retired) and other senior officers of the Force. He is prepared to support the organization referred to, but only if it is in the public interest to do so. He spoke with me on the matter and in the circumstances I thought it best to have it checked through Headquarters before offering any comment.

As a representative of the organization in tacting shortly, it would be will be contacting appreciated if this could be checked through Headquarters as soon as possible, please.

4. I might mention that any information given to will be passed on to him by me personally.

REVIEWED S.Al. FILES-NO. 1 SEC.

A/Comm'r.

DEC 9 1963

(H.A. MAXTED) Commanding "DT Division

950-249-51

ENCLOSURES DURLETE

RECEIVED NOV 2 1 1963

APR - 8 1964 090132

Page(s) 000133 to / à 000133

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the Access to Information Act Loi sur l¿accès à l¿information CO-QUISIONCE a quarterly

15 This O.K. Mys

or the comparative study of economics, sociology and politics

in a changing world

CARDING DATE 18-11-63

nclian Seatlon: Kerl Pelanyi, R.R.S. Piekering, Ontario

November 14th, 1963

Under the title CO-EXISTENCE an international scholarly Quarterly is to be published in English and French, starting January 1, 1964, published by Universitetsforlaget (University Press) Oslo, Norway Canadian participation in this significant initiative is ensured by outstanding contributors. The University of Toronto Press has kindly agreed to act as bookseller and advise on promotion.

The Quarterly will advance responsible thinking in West and East on co-existence, which is recognized as the only alternative to the Cold War. The Journal - 112 pages per issue - will formulate co-existence in a realistic and positive, rather than a polemical, manner. It will tackle the new, far reaching problems that such policies themselves must necessarily raise in many fields.

The creative functioning of the independent mind is essential in schiqving the purposes of such a publication. An Editorial Board, comprising such scholars as Gunnar Myrdal, Joan Robinson and Ragnar Frisch, will ensure a forum for effective discussion, free from any organizational influences. Private guarantees against loss will likewise ensure financial independence.

Studies and articles have been promised from the following Canadians:
Northrop Frye Victoria College; Leslie Dewart St. Nichael's College, on
the Encyclical Faces in Terris; Marshall McLuhan, St. Michael's College;
H. Gordon Skilling, University of Toronto; C.B. Macpherson, University of
Toronto, on Revolution and Ideology in the XXth Century and Michael
Oliver McGill University, on the French Canadian question.

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editorial board

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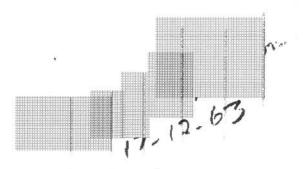
Other prospective contributors - apart from the Board members - are:
R. M. MacIver, Professor Emeritus, Columbia University; John Collier Sr.,
Taos, New Mexico; J. Somerville, Hunter College, N.Y., Paul Bohannan,
Northwestern University, as well as social scientists connected with the
Interdisciplinary Project at Columbia University, 1953-58, among them Paul
Medou, Rutgers University; Terence K. Hopkins, Columbia University and
Harry W. Pearson, Bennington College. From overseas, articles are promised
by Francois Perroux, College de France; Tibor Nende, Paris; Kenneth Huir,
Liverpool University; Thomas Hodgkin, Oxford and Ghana; Ki Zerbo, Upper
Volta; Franco Venturi, University of Turin; Leo Valiani, Milano. Contributions are further expected from A. A. Arzumanyan, Director of the World
Institute of Economics, Moscow and other Soviet social scientists, also
from scholars of Poland, among them Adam Schaff; of Hungary, among them
Jozsef Bognar; as well as from scholars of Yugoslavia and of Czechoslovakia.

The receipt by Oslo University Press of a guarantee of \$4250 is required to cover possible deficits over the first two years. The venture is expected to become self-supporting within that time. You are being asked to contribute a sum to be held in escrow against possible loss. Your chaque should be made payable to CO-EXISTENCE Quarterly. One of those organizing support in Canada whose names appear below will be getting in touch with you in a few days.

For the Editorial Board

· Kan Posayi

Visiting Professor of Economics.
Columbia University, 1947-1953.



CARDEN 103

Organizing support in Canada:

Ellenry C. Campbell, Chief Librarian, Toronto Public Libraries b. Dr. Ursula Franklin, Ontario Research Foundation
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1.1.11	INFORMATION:
HEADQUARTERS .	1. The two attached original contes of the 7.0.S., Survival or Suicide, Bulletin of the Toronto Committee on Disarmament Noted September 1960, No. 1 were obtained by the writer
DETACHMENT	2. It will be noted that this Bulletin appears to be the first edition and will probably be published on a monthly basis. This bulletin further verifies the Executive Members, Honourary Sponsors and the Sponsors of the Toronto Committee for Disarmament.
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SURVIVAL

Bulletin of the Toronto Committee. on Disarmament R. S. Lambert, X Editor

1960 September

No. 1

THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR - ITS CHALLENGE TO CANADA

(Delivered by Rabbi Abraham L. Feinberg in Montreal, August 6, 1960)

The cold war threatens to turn the whole world into a Hiroshima, fifteen years after that city was devastated by the first A-bomb. Generals rattle rockets, military brass talks about "victory," and many supposedly free Canadians hesitate to protest in fear of being accused of Communist sympathics. Linus Pauling is being given the McCarthy treatment in Washington because he got a petition signed against nuclear tests. Concepts suitable for a pre-Atomic age threaten to make humanity obsolete. to make humanity obsolete.

Canada must not let the fate of her people be decided by the blind rigidity of the Pentagon or the blustering hypocrisy of the Kremlin. When the only alternative to peace is not war but death, when human beings created equal in the sight of God may be cremated equally by the folly of man, the silence of respectability may bring the silence of the grave.

The H-bomb does not distinguish between white and black and yellow, between Christian and Moslem and Jew. Race-hate and religious bigotry can be the match to ignite the final apocalyptic conflagration. All mankind is now united by brotherhood under God— and by the grim fact that there is no place anywhere for anyone to hide, whatever may be claimed for the dolls'-house bomb-shelters being advertised like garden furniture.

The hour has come not only to make the peace movement proper and "kosher," but to make it the prime concern of responsible citizens. Fellow-travellers have no menopoly on concern for human survival. Disarmament is not a dirty word, but a dira necessity. The attempt to arouse public opinion against nuclear armament is no more unpatriotic than the desire to save one's children from death. The only way to avoid total destruction is by total disarmament. That goal seems remote, but it must be the focus of our hope and effort. Such a program involves risk. To drift, to rely on deterrents

Such a program involves risk. To drift, to rely on deterrents that do not deter and on defense weapons that do not defend,

is an even greater risk. The safe course is to be bold for disarmament; the sane course is to be radical.

Canada has been granted an historic opportunity to strike a blow for peace and free mankind from fear. As a non-member of the nuclear club, she has no chips to lose; as a "middle power," she can lead the smaller ones and become an intermediary; as a nation without an imperialistic past, she is not morally compromised.

"middle power," she can lead the smaller ones and become an intermediary; as a nation without an imperialistic past, she is not morally compromised.

Above all, Canada is "in the middle," under the path of the heralds of doom itching to shuttle across the Arctic airroute between the Soviet Union and the United States. This country will be the Belgium of World War Three.

The Toronto Committee for Disarmament does not demand unilateral disarming. We do urge an awareness of the need for unilateral action, to initiate policies that will, stage by stage, bring world-wide disarmament.

Canada should reject nuclear weapons for her armed forces, refuse to have them installed on her territory, and request other non-nuclear countries to adopt a similar policy. Canada should encourage the forces of sanity by recognizing the People's Republic of China. Disarmament is ampossible without her participation; 650 million people cannot be waved aside by a political gesture. Canada should take the initiative in forming a permanent UN Police Force and should help reduce international tension through an enlarged program of visits, and exchange of factual information between nations.

The moral gap between our fear of the future and our failure to do something about it, is more dangerous than the "missile gap" so often mentioned by military experts. As long as the human race exists it will have an easy method of universal suicide. As the nuclear club grows, the peril to survival will grow, Before the drift toward doom becomes irreversible, humanity must act on its own behalf. Ordinary people can give direction to the politicians. Let the nobodies talk to the somebodies, who are not talking to each other.

Canada can lead the way. She has nothing to lose but fear.

CCT 3 1 1930 TORONTO DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE

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WHAT WE HOPE TO DO

A Brief Statement of TCD Policy

Our aim in these Bulletins is to provide you with up-to-date and essential information about the growing demand for Disarmament, here in Canada and elsewhere.

Disarmament is the burning issue of the hour. If we do not soon achieve it, a third world war will break out, either by accident or by design. In that case, it will be a nuclear and/or bacteriological war which will destroy civilization, and probably all mankind. Every thinking man and woman therefore, has the duty of finding out for themselves the facts of this appalling situation, and taking action accordingly. These facts we plan to supply, calmly, accurately and without exaggeration.

The Toronto Committee for Disarmament, which issues this Bulletin, is actively working in co-operation with other like-minded bodies. It is a strictly non-partisan body, not affiliated with or influenced by any political movement. The Committee proposes that the Canadian Government should:

- Abandon plans to equip Canadian armed forces with nuclear weapons.
- Prohibit the stationing of such weapons on Canadian soil.
- 3. Appeal to all other non-nuclear powers to do likewise.
- 4. Recognize immediately the People's Republic of China.
- Take the initiative in forming a permanent U.N. Police Force.
- Seek the co-operation of other "middle" powers to persuade the big powers to disarm.

 Urge the U.N. to establish a Committee for Outer Space Activities.

Implicit in these proposals is the recognition that nuclear disarmament is the first step towards total disarmament; that disarmament requires an adequate system of inspection at all stages; that no satisfactory agreement to disarm can be reached without the co-operation of China; that there must be an international police force to preserve world peace; and finally, that while all nations have a common interest in maintaining world peace, disarmament by itself will not solve the world's political or economic problems. However, it is a necessary first step towards their solution.

To forward its proposals, the TCD has organized public meetings and lectures; sent resolutions to the Prime Minister; provided a booth at 1960 Canadian National Exhibition; and issued several folder-pamphlets. Much more can be done as public support is enlisted.

Interested readers of this Bulletin can help to forward the work of the Committee by (a) distributing extra copies of the Bulletin (b) supplying the Editor with a list of people (names and addresses) who would appreciate receiving the Bulletin (c) making a donation to the Committee's general fund.

URGENT NEED CALLS FOR URGENT ACTION.

HELP WANTED

We need more voluntary secretarial help. If you can help us, please write, indicating exact ability to take shorthand, to type, or if only general office work. Also indicate time available.

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Liber Denounce Nuclear Armament

On August 4, the forty-sixth anniversary of the outbreak of World War I, the Liberal Party of Canada declared its support of a defense policy which makes no provision for nuclear weapons for Canada's armed forces. Paul Hellyer, the Liberal spokesman in Parliament, advocated scrapping the Bomarc anti-aircraft missile program in Canada, and the electronic control system used to operate it. He favoured replacing the CF-100 interceptor, now used by Canadian air defense squadrons, by a supersonic interceptor capable of identifying suspicious aircraft. He also demanded the cancellation of the CF-104 fighter bomber, designed to carry nuclear bombs, which is being developed to enable the RCAF to play a strikeattack role in Europe.

· Mr. Hellyer's main argument was that both the Bomarc and the CF-100 were obsolete as weapons in modern thermonuclear warfare, and that to build them was a waste of publie money, "Even if a major scientific break-through occurs," he said, "and a defense against the inter-continental ballistic missile (ICBM) becomes a technical possibility, the cost of providing installations on a scale necessary for even a token defense will be so great as to be impractical.'

The CCF spokesman in the same debate, Harold Winch, agreed with the Liberals in denouncing the Bomarc program. The CCF view, however, was that Canada ought to withdraw from the North American Air Defense Command Agreement with the United States, seek to internationalize the Distant Early Warning Line, and become a buffer state between the United States and the Soviet Union.

On August 8, the Toronto Committee for Disarmament passed a resolution warmly commending the defense proposals of the two opposition parties.



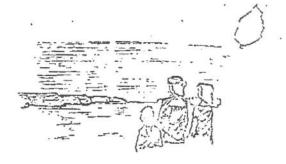
A Book Worth Reading

STRATEGY FOR SURVIVAL — First Steps in Nuclear Disarmament by Wayland Young, Penguin Books, 50 cents.

War has become obscene. The atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were horrible. Now we have hydrogen bombs, cobalt bombs and bacteriological and gas weapons, any one of which is capable of destroying all human life on this planet. There is no defense. There would be no survivors.

Mr. Young offers a way out. He says we must make the difficult mental adjustment necessary for calm assessment of the situation; we must not be swept away by our horror and revulsion, or, on the other hand, so numbed by the immensity of our problem as to be ready to accept any solution, even if irrational. He argues that we must find new ways to solve the problems of a new age — the "nuclear age". He makes a penetrating analysis of various "cold war" policies — massive deterrence, limited nuclear war, interdependence (NATO alliance), the balance of terror — and shows clearly where they are taking us.

He proposes that Britain take the initiative in forming a nontangulear club which would renounce the manufacture, sta-



Remember Hiroshima!

Fifteen years ago, on August 6, 1945, the first atomic bomb was dropped over Hiroshima in Japan. The bomb (according to the Clobe and Mail of August 31, 1960) exploded 1500 feet above the city and caused total destruction over four square miles of its commercial and residential sections. Two thirds of miles of its commercial and residential sections. Two thirds of the ninety thousand buildings within nine and one half square miles were razed or badly damaged, and two thirds of the population were killed, missing or presumed dead. Ninetenths of Hiroshima's doctors and over nine-tenths of its nurses were killed or injured. The bomb also ignited a huge wave of fire which devoured the city's frame houses. Several hours after the explosion the fire-wind attained a maximum velocity of thirty to forty miles per hour. In large concrete buildings, windows, casements and doors were blown out and the structures fissured by the downward thrust of the lilast, the buildings gutted, and the walls skinned by heat and blast.

President Truman, who ordered the dropping of the bomb, announced at the time that this bomb had more power than 20,000 tons of TNT. Today, the Megaton hydrogen bomb has a force a thousand times greater than that of the 'simple' atomic bomb that destroyed Hiroshima. The United States has stockpiled an estimated seventy-five thousand of these bombs, and the Soviet Union a similar number — enough to provide ten tons of TNT for every man, woman and child in the world. Both countries also have the power to deliver their bombs, and therefore to blot each other (and the rest of us) off the face of this earth. The genetic effect on the human race in the northern hemisphere after the explosion in the U.S.A. and USSR of a thousand 20-megaton bombs, would be such that even the survivors (if any) would be unlikely to produce "normal" children.

The only restraint is fear, and the only hope, a rapid growth of an enlightened public opinion that will insist on stopping this competition in insanity. On Hiroshima Day, 1960, a number of local Committees on Radiation Hazards, the chairman of the National Committee, Dr. Hugh Keenleyside, and the Toronto Disarmament Committee passed a resolution calling on Canada to take the lead in ending the production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons throughout the world.

tioning of strategic bases and the use of nuclear weapons. If the members of the non-nuclear club included all the countries of the world except America and Russia, the strategic threat would cover only these two countries. With the possibility of all-out nuclear war so restricted, nations could breathe a little more freely and discussions between the two belligerents would take on a completely different tone. It is a beginning.

TCD at CNE

The Toronto Committee for Disarmament, in co-operation with several other groups, rented a booth at the 1960 Canadian National Exhibition. This was the first time in the Exhibition's history, so far as we know, that a number of separate groups with differing backgrounds undertook to make a co-ordinated approach to the public on behalf of their common aim — the prevention of war. Among others, some of the badies that co-operated with the TCD on this occasion, included the following:—

The Society of Friends (Quakers) The Fellowship of Reconciliation

The Student Christian Movement
It is still too early to estimate the results of this activity—
and unfortunately, too late to invite you to visit the booth,
and see its effect for yourselves.

THE DIEFENBAKER GOVERNMENT AND DISARMAMENT

On July 11, Rabbi Feinberg, the Rev. J. M. Finley and David Gauthier sen, a telegram on behalf of TCD to the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. John Diefenbaker, This said, in

"Can the acquisition of nuclear weapons by Canadian armed forces, or the stationing of nuclear weapons on Canadian soil, really protect us or promote disarmament? The first step is varies disarmament is to stop arming. If Canada believes is the necessity and possibility of peace, she must take that the step. We do not urge that Canada disarm unilaterally . . Canada can and must initiate policies which, if accepted by other nations, will ultimately bring world-wide disarmament . . We respectfully ask you to declare to the House of Commons, to the nation, and to mankind, that nuclear weapons shall not be permitted in territory, or to persons, subject to the Government of Canada."

To this telegram, the Prime Minister replied on July 29, in the following terms, in part:—

"In my view Canadian policy in regard to both disarmament and defense is directed essentially to the same end. In both respects we are seeking to ensure that an armed conflict will not once again engulf the world . . . As your telegram implies, that goal is universal and controlled disarmament. That, however, cannot be achieved without agreement among the countries concerned, of which Canada is only one . . . Pending the solution of the disarmament problem, we must rely on our defensive strength to deter others from the gamble of armed conflict . . . To this end we are closely associated in NATO with a number of likeminded countries determined through our collective strength to uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter . . . Until disarmament under effective international control has begun to take shape as a reality, it would be contrary to the cause of peace for Canada unilaterally to lower its defensive guard . . . I can assure you that your views will be carefully weighed in our continuing attention to Canadian policies in the fields".

Mr. Diefenbaker's promise to weigh carefully TGD'S views,

Mr. Diefenbaker's promise to weigh carefully TCD'S views, bore fruit in the actions of Canada's External Affairs Minister, Mr. Howard Green, at the United Nations Eighty-two-Member Disarmament Commission. On August 16, Mr. Green called upon the Commission to "make clear to the nuclear powers that the peoples of the world demand an end to this terrible threat (of a nuclear war) which hangs over them, and demand that disarmament negotiations be resumed forthwith." Under further prodding by Mr. Green, the Commission on August 18 adopted a resolution urging that "continued efforts be made for the earliest possible continuation of international negotiations to achieve general and complete disarmament."

The Toronto Committee for Disarmament has strongly backed Mr. Green's action. Rabbi Feinberg described his speech to the Disarmament Commission as "a historic expression of the moral courage which the world needs for re-

MR. GREEN'S REMINDER

"There is recognition in every country, both nuclear and non-nuclear, that a nuclear war is the end. This isn't a war on horseback, this is the end of all of us."

The Defense Conundrum

Part of a CBC broadcast on August 9, 1960 by J. B. Witchell

We Canadians are simply unwilling to admit the grim fact that the present Western policy of so-called 'defence' can have no conceivable conclusion but wholesale nuclear war. have no conceivable conclusion but wholes.... This is not a statement of opinion, but a fact . . .

It is becoming increasingly possible today for a sudden and completely crushing attack to be delivered by nuclear missiles—and possibly by other means also . . . Each side thus knows that the penalty for fallure to strike the first blow is so enormous that there is a "military necessity" to

prepare what is called pre-emptive attack — an attack to be delivered, that is, where the enemy's attack is believed to be imminent... It is obvious that the present situation can only lead to war, unless a radical change takes place quickly in our military and political thinking...

What is needed? First, I would say, a basic revision of our ideas on what constitutes patriotism... To continue on a course which can only lead to the nation's destruction cannot possibly be patriotism—love of the fatherland—since the fatherland itself is to be destroyed...

Unless we are to proveke the day of puclear does it much

Unless we are to provoke the day of nuclear doom, it must be made clear, both by word and by the disposition of our forces, that we prefer to accept the frightful "first blow" rather than attempting to forestall that blow with our own pre-emptive attack... What it means is that our military policy must be downgraded and made subject to our political aim of preventing such a war from starting. Canada is ideally situated for initiating such a movement among the Western nations. nations.

(Editor's Note: The full text of this broadcast can be obtained from the Toronto Disarmament Committee)

Don't Miss These TCD Publications

To help us better understand the grave problems we face today, the Toronto Committee for Disarmament is issuing folders and reprints of important speeches and articles. They include the following:—

Basic Statement of TCD Aims
 A folder giving the reasons for Disarmament, and unging its immediate adoption.

 Dr. Keenleyside's Speech on Nuclear Hazards.
 Reprint of a speech given by the Director of the Power Commission of New Brunswick, and former Canadian Delegate to the United Nations. This speech was given in Montreal to the National Committee for the Control of Radiation Hazards, of which Dr. Keenleyside is Chairman. Everyone should read this speech.

 The Defense Conundrum

Everyone should read this speech.

The Defense Conundrum
John B. Witchell's CBC broadcast of August 9th, 1960.

This gives the full text of the address quoted elsewhere in this bulletin.

CBR Versus Man

By Norman Gousins, A reprint from the Saturday Review of an article describing the new chemical, bacteriological and radiological weapons likely to be used during the next war.

There is No Shelter from Atomic Blast An illustrated folder asking (and answering) the ques-tion: what would happen to you and yours in the event of a nuclear war.

Is Armament the Answer to Unemployment? A leadlet giving questions and a never regarding the pa-lations between Limitable 1 and the papers.

them. Why not write us for copies, for distribution to your friends. Please say which folders you want and how many of each. Also, if you can manage it, send along a contribution to cover expenses. Thank you.

General Norstad on the Next War

Can the next war be a "limited war?" General Lauris Norstad, the Commander-in-chief of NATO Forces, thinks not. When recently asked by Congressman Gary of Virginia the question: "Could you not have a limited war and still use atomic weapons?". General Norstad replied:—
"I do not agree with those people who say you can control the size of this fire, the size of this blast, neatly, cold-bloodedly, once it starts. I think it is the most dangerous and disastrous thing in the world. You must prevent the thing from starting in the first place, because once it starts in a critical area such as the NATO area, it is more likely than not, in my opinion, to explain into the whole thing, whether we like it or the Russians like it, or anybody likes it."

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